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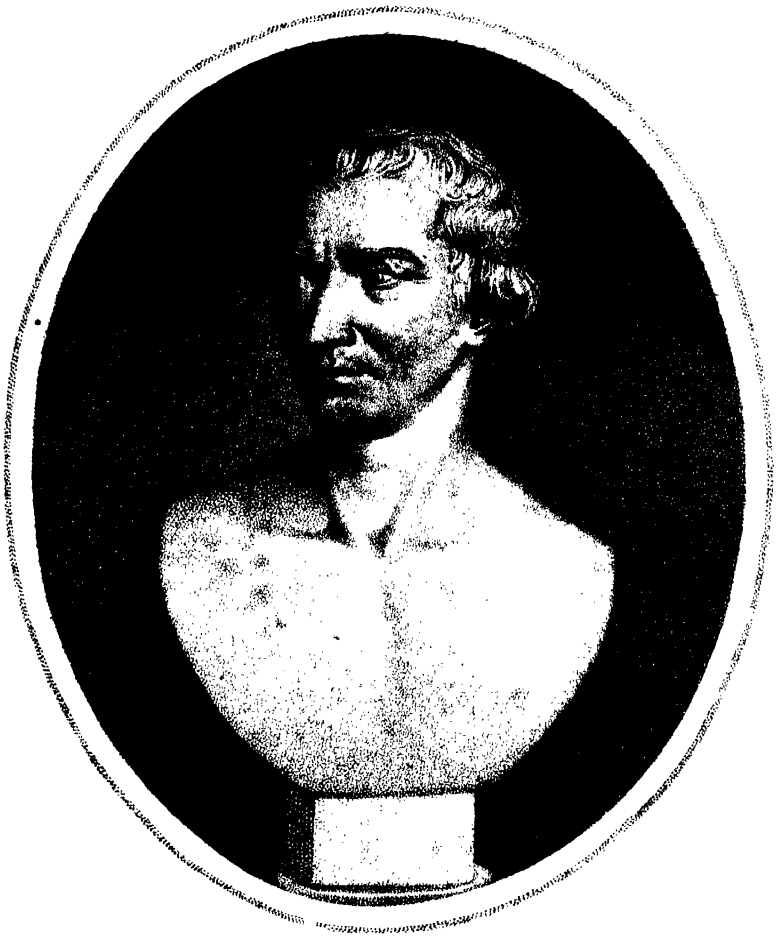

ROBERT ORME ESQ.

MDCCLXXIV ÆT XLVI

From a Bust Executed by Joseph Nollekens Esq.ᴿᴬ

now in the Possession of

THE HON.ᴮᴸᴱ THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

OF THE

MOGUL EMPIRE,

OF THE

MORATTOES,

AND OF THE ENGLISH CONCERNS

IN INDOSTAN;

FROM THE YEAR M.DC.LIX.

ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT, AND OF THE COMPANY'S TRADE,

AT BROACH AND SURAT;

AND

A GENERAL IDEA OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDOSTAN.

By ROBERT ORME, Esq. F.A.S.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE AUTHOR.

"Mr. Orme, the hiſtorian of India, unites an exquiſite taſte for every fine art, with an accurate knowledge of Aſiatic manners."

Sir William Jones's Third Diſcourſe.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR F. WINGRAVE, IN THE STRAND,
SUCCESSOR TO MR. NOURSE.

M,DCCC,V.

Luke Hanfard, Printer,
Great Turnſtile, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

TO THE

HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

EAST INDIA COMPANY,

TO WHOSE

FOSTERING PATRONAGE AND LIBERAL ENCOURAGEMENT

OF EVERY BRANCH OF

ORIENTAL LITERATURE

THE WORLD IS INDEBTED FOR THOSE

DISCOVERIES IN THE HISTORY AND SCIENCES OF THE EAST

WHICH HAVE

GIVEN TO THE ENGLISH NAME IN INDIA

A REPUTATION FOR LEARNING

NOT LESS EXALTED THAN ITS

FAME IN ARMS AND LEGISLATION,

THIS

MISCELLANEOUS VOLUME

FROM THE

POSTHUMOUS WORKS

OF THEIR LATE LEARNED, ELEGANT, AND LAMENTED

HISTORIOGRAPHER,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED.

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ERRATA.

Page	10,	line 20,	*for* Admednagar, *read* Ahmednagar.
—	36,	— 6,	*for* in, *read* on.
—	56,	— 25,	*for* when, *read* at which time.
—	84,	— 7,	*for* weſtern, *read* eaſtern.
—	88,	— 11,	*dele* that.
—	163,	ult.	*for* land, *read* laud.
—	179,	line 4,	*for* Note III. *read* Note IV.
—	223,	— 2,	*for* that ſaw, *read* that he ſaw.
—	272,	— 17,	*for* D'Abbeville, *read* D'Alberville.
—	373,	— 1,	*for* Gehanghire, *read* Jehangire.
—	432,	— 2,	*for* empirs, *read* empire.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF THE

AUTHOR.

AMONG thoſe who have moſt zealouſly employed their leiſure and learning in the public ſervice, the ſubject of the following Memoir will ever rank high in the eſtimation of all who have the ability to appreciate his labours. The vaſt extent of territory now ſubjected to the Eaſt India company, either by war provoked, or negotiation ſolicited, by the native ſovereigns, has rendered the hiſtory and geography of INDOSTAN moſt highly intereſting and neceſſary to all who are connected, directly or indirectly, with our eſtabliſhments in that quarter of the globe. Indeed, no Gentleman can be conſidered as having completed his education, until he has made himſelf in ſome degree acquainted with the ſtate of the Britiſh intereſts in the Eaſt: neither is it too much to ſay, that ſince our firſt knowledge of India, no man has ſo amply elucidated either its hiſtory, or its polity, as MR. ORME. A few authentic particulars of his life and writings, therefore, cannot but be acceptable to a nation which has derived ſuch eminent advantage from his labours.

Dr. Alex-

Dr. Alexander Orme, the father of our author, went out to India in the Honourable Company's ſervice, as phyſician and ſurgeon, and arrived at Bombay about the year 1706. He continued there, and at the dependent ſettlements, a conſiderable time, with great reputation, as we find by the following extract from the public records of that period:

"*Callicut, Auguſt* 30, 1707.

Mr. Alexander Orme, ſurgeon, of Anjengo Fort, has made his requeſt to us; that he may be entered a Company's ſervant. We find him a very capable and ingenious perſon, that would be extraordinarily ſerviceable to our Maſters and us in ſickneſs. If your Excellency and the Council are pleaſed to enter him a factor, we requeſt that we may have him at this factory, being in great want of aſſiſtance as above ſpecified.

"*Robert Adams.*
"*John Johnſon.*"

In a ſubſequent letter they write,

"We are heartily ſorry that the rains have been ſo very unhealthy with you, that Dr. Orme could not be ſpared. We requeſt you would afford us his aſſiſtance as ſoon as you can," &c.

Robert Adams, Eſq. (who ſigned the foregoing letters as chief of the ſettlement of Callicut on the coaſt of Malabar) and Dr. Orme, had married two ſiſters, of the name of Hill.

After having long diſtinguiſhed himſelf at Anjengo, in the Travancore country, Dr. Orme was appointed chief of that ſettlement, where he had iſſue of his marriage two ſons and two daughters.

ROBERT, the ſecond ſon, and the ſubject of our Memoir, was born on Chriſtmas Day in 1728, and was named after his uncle Adams; the mother of Governor Bourchier being one of his ſponſors.

With a view at once to his education and his health, for he was of a weak and delicate conſtitution, the Doctor ſent Robert to England when ſcarcely two years old; and he was placed under the care of his aunt Adams, then reſiding in Cavendiſh-ſquare. With this lady he continued between two and three years, and was then committed

committed to the tuition of a clergyman for about a twelvemonth; after which, though only ſix years of age, he was ſent to the juſtly-celebrated ſchool of Harrow. Here he continued between ſeven and eight years, ſtudied the claſſics with delight, and was equally diſtinguiſhed by quickneſs of parts, and aſſiduity of application.

In 1741 he was removed from Harrow; and, being intended for the civil ſervice in India, was placed in the office of the Accomptant-general of the African company, that he might be initiated in the theory of commercial tranſactions. "His progreſs in this branch of knowledge," obſerves one who knew him well, "was proportioned to the talents that he had previouſly diſplayed in more lively and attractive ſtudies; and, as he could not but have felt conſiderable regret at being obliged to relinquiſh thoſe ſtudies, his applying to others ſo little congenial, if not repulſive, to a youthful mind, evinces uncommon vigour as well as diligence."

Having laid what was conſidered as a firm foundation for ſubſequent attainments in commercial buſineſs, young ORME embarked for India, and arrived in the year 1742 at Calcutta, where his brother WILLIAM then reſided as a writer in the Company's ſervice. William was originally intended for the ſea; but, diſliking that element, obtained the above-mentioned appointment at Calcutta; where he died at about twenty-five years of age (*a*): before which time he had loſt both his parents.

ROBERT did not return to India in the Company's ſervice; but on his arrival in Calcutta, engaged himſelf, for improvement, in the houſe of Jackſon and Wedderburn, at that time the firſt Engliſh mercantile firm in India; Mr. Jackſon being one of the council; and Mr. Wedderburn (of the ſame family as the late earl of Roſſlyn) a free merchant. While with them, young ORME made a voyage round the Peninſula to Surat in one of the freight-ſhips, as they are termed; and it was on his return to Calcutta, in 1743, that he found

(*a*) See our Author's Verſes to the Memory of his Brother, p. liv.

found he was appointed from England to be a writer in the Company's civil ſervice (*b*); in which he continued between nine and ten years; becoming, after the firſt five, a *factor*, according to the Company's regulations in India.

He applied himſelf with indefatigable zeal in promoting the intereſts of his employers; ſtudying at all convenient ſeaſons the inſtitutions, manners, and cuſtoms of the native inhabitants, as well as the ſtate of the municipal government of the town; and during this period he collected the materials for many of his ſubſequent literary undertakings.

In the year 1752, ſome regulations in the jamadary, or government of the town or police of Calcutta, were thought neceſſary; and it appears from Mr. Orme's papers, that he was deſired to ſtate (though then only twenty-four years of age) his opinion on the ſubject, and to point out ſuch regulations as he ſhould conceive proper to be adopted in that delicate but very important concern.

In his ſhort narrative on this ſubject, he obſerves, that the office of Jamadar in Calcutta, owing to the little attention that had been paid in England to a ſituation of that conſequence, ſeemed never to have been rightly underſtood there. It compriſes in itſelf two diſtinct offices, each of which is of the utmoſt importance under any polity: *viz.* the adminiſtration and execution of juſtice; and, the collection of

(*b*) On this occaſion he appears to have reſorted to the Almighty in pious ſupplication to fit him for his future character in the world; as in his memoranda, dated November 1744, we find the following prayer, written in the 16th year of his age:

"PRAYER, November 1744.

"O GOD, whoſe infinite power is not more ſhewn in the works of thy creation, than thine eternal beneficence in the preſervation of thy creatures, vouchſafe to hear the humble ſupplications of one of the meaneſt among them; who, in all due ſenſe of the lowlineſs of his condition, preſumes on the authority of his Redeemer's command alone, to throw himſelf, in all his ſins, at the throne of thy mercy. Forgive him, O LORD! his manifold breaches of thy ordinances, and endue him with grace to amend his ways before thee. Caſt from his heart the rancour of pride, the malignity of envy or malice, and all thoſe tumultuous paſſions and urgent emotions of which our frail beings are, without thy prevention, ſo ſuſceptible; endue him with humility; grant him charity to all men."

of the revenues. After some very profound and forcible reasoning on the subject, he thus concludes:

"I have very disinterestedly given you an account which it has cost me some years to arrive at a conviction and certainty of; and I dare say you will find few instances, on your return to Calcutta, that do not pretty well tally with it.

"I promised to suggest the most apparent remedies for this sad train of unparalleled abuses and iniquities: but this you will better do than I. The old rule, of curing distempers by their contraries, will, I believe, hold good here. 1st, Separate the revenues from the justiciary power: 2dly, Divide those revenues into different branches, by farms, and by distinct collectors: then, 3dly, Divide the town into particular districts, each capable of being superintended by one person; and over these districts appoint particular gentlemen; some of the council, some not, as they can be spared. Let an appeal lie to the governor and council. Let the prison and the *cutcheree* be methodized into distinct offices, for regulations and punishments, according to the districts.

"I wish this information may be of any service to the Company: it must come about by your means alone."

In the same year, 1758, and during his residence at Calcutta, Mr. Orme composed the first and second books of his "General Idea of the Government and People of Indostan;" which is now first printed complete from his MSS in the present volume. This little essay, though a juvenile production, shows the great industry with which he had applied himself to Indian concerns, and may be considered as the germ or foundation of his greater work. The first two books he corrected, retrenched in some, and enlarged in other places, on board the ship Pelham in September 1758; and the third book he composed on board the same vessel, probably for his amusement, during a voyage that he was then making to England (*o*), where he arrived at the latter end of that year.

We

(*o*) This voyage of Mr. Orme's, from India to England, was principally made at the desire of his favourite aunt, Mrs. Adams. With this lady, who had a most affectionate regard for him, he resided during his stay in this country, at her house in Cavendish-square, which came afterwards into the possession of the late lord Chedworth.

We cannot forbear to tranſcribe here, the Author's concluding chapter, or reflections, on his work; as furniſhing a proof of his zeal in favour of Chriſtianity, and the ſenſe which he entertained of the liberty that we enjoy in this country, as contraſted with that of the inhabitants under oppreſſive and arbitrary governments:

"Having brought to a concluſion this eſſay on the government and people of Indoſtan, I cannot refrain from making the reflections which ſo obviouſly ariſe from the ſubject.

"Chriſtianity vindicates all its glories, all its honour, and all its reverence, when we behold the moſt horrid impieties avowed amongſt the nations on whom its influence does not ſhine, as actions neceſſary in the common conduct of life; I mean poiſonings, treachery, and aſſaſſinations, in the ſons of ambition; rapines, cruelty, and extortions, in the miniſters of juſtice.

"I leave divines to vindicate, by more ſanctified reflections, the cauſe of their Religion and their God.

"The ſons of Liberty may here behold the mighty ills to which the ſlaves of a *deſpotic power* muſt be ſubject: the ſpirit darkened and depreſſed by ignorance and fear; the body tortured and tormented by puniſhments inflicted without juſtice and without meaſure: ſuch a contraſt to the bleſſings of liberty, heightens at once the ſenſe of our happineſs, and our zeal for the preſervation of it."

It may here be neceſſary, for the better elucidation of what follows, to revert to that period when commerce was the Company's ſole object; the firſt principle on which their ſettlements were eſtabliſhed having been intirely commercial:

"The Mogul government (Mr. Orme obſerves) had, during the long and wiſe adminiſtration of Aurengzebe, taken ſuch deep root, that the many nations which formed the empire of Indoſtan were ſubjugated to the Mogul in various forms; ſome of them tributary and hereditary, and others governed by nabobs, or viceroys, under the immediate appointment of the emperors.

"Such

Mrs. Adams left two daughters, Margaretta Ann, and Elizabeth: the ſecond, Elizabeth, married the Hon. Bennet Noel, lieutenant-general of his Majeſty's forces, and colonel of the 43d regiment of foot, whom ſhe ſurvived; at her deceaſe ſhe left her fortune to her ſiſter Margaretta Ann, who died unmarried; this lady, at her deceaſe, left Mr. Orme an annuity of £. 200; and the houſe in Cavendiſh-ſquare to lord Gainſborough, the nephew of general Noel.

" Such was the ſtate of the empire when the Engliſh ſettled in India, and obtained phirmaunds, or royal grants, for eſtabliſhing themſelves in Bengal, Madras, and Surat, with privilege of trading duty-free; and a grant of a certain diſtrict of land to ſettle upon, with liberty to fortify and govern themſelves by their own laws. But as the Engliſh ſaw no violence to be apprehended from a people who had a juſt idea of commerce, and a government at that time well adminiſtered, they built with very little view of defence, and carried on their trade free from oppreſſion.

" The governors of the diſtant provinces, diſcovering the weakneſs to which the power of the Emperor was reduced by the invaſion of Nadir Shah, were no longer reſtrained by fear; each aſſumed and exerciſed ſovereign authority over his province, and looked on his government as an heritage to his family. Scarce any more of the annual ſums, before paid by them to the Mogul, were ſent to court; and to maintain themſelves in their ſovereignty, they levied forces far beyond what the ordinary revenues would maintain: From hence oppreſſions became neceſſary, and, in their turn, the Europeans were oppreſſed, not only in their trade, but large ſums extorted from them by violence. Monſ. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, was the firſt who took the alarm, and was the firſt who diſcovered the ſuperiority of European diſcipline, and from hence was led into the idea of acquiring a territorial ſovereignty in India.

" It is probable, he at firſt extended his views no farther than a diſtrict round Pondicherry; but when once engaged in the politics of the country, his ſucceſſes ſo far ſurpaſſed his expectation, and opened ſuch a ſcene of power to him, that he diſdained the narrow limits he might at firſt preſcribe to himſelf; and no doubt but they were enlarged, not only to the conqueſt of the Carnatic, but to the extirpation of all other European nations, and even to the reduction of the whole Mogul empire, and to make it a dependant ſtate on the crown of France.

" The Engliſh beheld his progreſs with aſtoniſhment, but were not rouſed to action till they found themſelves on the point of being ſwallowed up by the French power. Forced to it, they with reluctance, in 1750, undertook the ſupport of Mahomed Ally againſt Chunda Saheb, under whoſe name the French carried on their ambitious projects.

" It is not our intention to enter into a minute detail of that long war, maintained on our ſide againſt a conſtant ſuperiority of numbers, at the expence of the lives of many thouſands of brave men, and at the riſque of near a million ſterling of the Company's property; we ſhall only obſerve, that from our ſucceſſes, the Nabob's ſituation was ſo different at the end of the year 1753, from what it was in 1750, at which time the ſingle city of Trichinopoly was the only part of his dominions that remained unconquered by the French, that in 1753 he had recovered, and was maſter of, almoſt the whole Carnatic; and at that time the French reſources ſeemed nearly exhauſted.

"The French company, elated at the ſucceſs which attended Monſ. Dupleix in the commencement of the war, at firſt faintly approved his meaſures; but the oppoſition of the other European powers, the unforeſeen events of war, and the deviating ſo widely from their natural object of commerce, rendering the event very uncertain, there was nothing could fix their faith in the rectitude of thoſe meaſures, but ſucceſſes that might attend them, and a happy period to the war, which Monſ. Dupleix promiſed them in every letter. But, inſtead of theſe ſucceſſes, they ſaw the countries, of which they expected the revenues would be their reward, in the hands of their enemies, and their ſtock exhauſting in the ſupport of an uncertain war, which ruined their trade, and the manufactories of the country, from which they had before reaped advantages ſuitable to their eſtabliſhment.

"The war appeared in the ſame light to the Engliſh company; and therefore both agreed on a neutrality for the Carnatic, till means ſhould be found to put an end to that and all future wars, by negotiations at home. But as it regarded the Carnatic only, it did not check the progreſs of the French arms in the Decan, the Soubah of which had ceded to them Maſſulipatam, and four provinces, which yielded them a revenue of 400,000 *l.* ſterling a year. Nor did there appear any check to their progreſs in that country; the French gave law, by their influence over the Soubah, to a country as extenſive and populous as France; and by a prudent management of what they had ſo acquired, or by increaſe of dominion, it was in their power even then to have laid a foundation on which M. Dupleix's great ideas of conqueſt might have been realized. And although the French company themſelves ſhould have choſen to adhere to their commercial intereſts, Dupleix's projects ſuited too well with that ſpirit of conqueſt which prevails in the French court, to be neglected; and upon the breaking out of the war it is reaſonable to conclude, from the forces ſent out under general Lally, that they adopted them in their utmoſt extent. Our ſettlements were but a ſecondary object; their forces were ſo formidable, that they, with great probability, imagined them a trifling obſtacle, (which ſurmounted) Cape Comorin and the Ganges might have been the boundaries of their dominions."

On our Author's arrival in London in the year 1753, he found his Majeſty's miniſters and the India Company deeply engaged with the affairs of the Eaſt; for the directors had in the preceding year made repreſentations to miniſters reſpecting the hoſtilities in which they were involved on the coaſt of Coromandel, and ſolicited their aid, either to carry on or terminate the war; which their own reſources were little able to continue againſt the French company, ſtrongly ſupported by the government of France.

With

With a mind ſo acute and obſerving as he poſſeſſed, Mr. Orme could not have reſided ten years in India without acquiring conſiderable knowledge, not only of the manners, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions of its inhabitants, but of the political condition of its different ſtates. Poſſeſſing beſides a good addreſs, and pleaſing manner of communicating information, he was, ſoon after his arrival in London, much noticed by thoſe who deſired to obtain intelligence reſpecting the affairs of India. Being with this intention introduced to Lord Holderneſſe, then one of his Majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate, he received the countenance and ſupport of that nobleman; and a long correſpondence took place on the ſubject of our oriental ſettlements, which is now preſerved among Mr. Orme's MSS in the Eaſt India Houſe, and which muſt have imparted great and ſatisfactory information; for the Britiſh miniſtry ſoon after perceived the neceſſity of interfering vigorouſly to ſtop the ambitious projects of Mr. Dupleix, and began a negotiation with the French miniſters on the ſubject. Mr. Orme obſerves:

"In 1753-4 Mr. Duvaleer, a director of the French company, together with his brother the count de Lude, who had both of them reſided for many years in the Eaſt Indies, were deputed from Paris, to treat with the miniſtry in London, and had frequent conferences with the earl of Holderneſſe, who by much application and frequent enquiries from all perſons capable of giving true information, had gained an extenſive knowledge of the ſubject, however intricate and little underſtood. This miniſter, findi[illegible]t the French endeavoured as uſual to gain time under the pretence of nego[illegible]ing, prevailed on the king to order a ſquadron of men of war to be equipped, on board of which a regiment was to be embarked for the Eaſt Indies. This vigorous reſolution convinced the French adminiſtration, that a perſeverance in their ſchemes of making conqueſts, and obtaining dominion in Indoſtan, would ſoon involve the two nations in a general war, for which France was in no wiſe prepared: and they conſented that the diſputes of the two companies ſhould be adjuſted by commiſſaries in India, on a footing of equality; without any regard to the advantages which either the one or the other might be in poſſeſſion of at the time when the treaty ſhould be concluded. It now remained only to chooſe ſuch commiſſaries as would implicitly fulfil theſe intentions; and the French themſelves were ſo fully convinced that Mr. Dupleix was not a man fit to be truſted with a commiſſion which contradicted ſo ſtrongly every part of his conduct ſince the beginning of the war of Coromandel, that they foreſaw the Engliſh miniſtry would ſuſpect the good faith of every pacific profeſſion they had lately made, if they ſhould offer

to

to nominate Mr. Dupleix a commiſſary to adjuſt the terms of peace. Having therefore no alternative, they of their own accord, and without any application from the Engliſh miniſtry, took the reſolution of removing him from the government of Pondicherry, and appointed Mr. Godeheu, a director of the French company, their commiſſary to negotiate the peace, and at the ſame time commander general, with abſolute authority over all their ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies. The Engliſh company empowered Mr. Saunders, and ſome other members of the council of Madras, to treat with Mr. Godeheu."

For the concluſion of theſe important events, we muſt refer the reader to Mr. Orme's Hiſtory of the Military Tranſactions in Indoſtan.

In the ſpring of 1754, Mr. Orme returned to India on board the Warren, Eaſt Indiaman, Capt. Alphonſus Glover, and arrived at Madras on the 14th September of that year. Previous to his leaving England, he had been appointed by the court of directors a member of the council at Fort St. George: where, on his arrival, he took his ſeat at the board accordingly. Here he ſoon had an opportunity of diſplaying that political ſagacity and deciſion with which his ſtrong natural parts, and former experience of the politics and manners of India, had furniſhed him. The united wiſdom and ſtrength of the council and the army, indeed, were neceſſary, to counteract the ambitious views of the French, ſupported by the French miniſtry at home, to effect either the expulſion (*d*) or dependence on them, not only of the Engliſh, but of all the other European powers in India.

The Britiſh miniſtry, now become ſenſible of the value and importance of Indoſtan to this country, from a careful inquiry into the Company's affairs in that quarter of the globe, aſſiſted in a vigorous manner their efforts both by ſea and land (*e*).

That great ſtateſman, Mr. Pitt, in 1757, continued the ſame attention to the intereſt of the Eaſt Indies; ſending powerful ſquadrons and

(*d*) The expulſion of the Engliſh from India appears to have been a favourite object alſo with other nations. The Portugueſe and the Dutch ſtrove to effect it in the earlier periods of the Britiſh ſettlements there; but with no better ſucceſs than that which has attended the efforts of the French in later times, as appears from many parts of Mr. Orme's hiſtory.

(*e*) The following are Extracts from the King's Inſtructions to Admiral Watſon, dated 2d March 1754; from Lord Weymouth's Appeal, 4to 1769.

"The Company having, agreeable to Royal Charter, entered into compacts with ſome of the Indian princes, for giving them aid and aſſiſtance againſt their enemies, but finding

and troops (*f*), by which the French power in India was totally ſubdued; and our Author, in his account of the ſurrender of Pondicherry in April 1761, bears the following ſtrong and ample teſtimony to the important conſequences of this well-timed aſſiſtance:

"This day terminated the long conteſted hoſtilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a ſingle enſign of the French nation, avowed by the authority of its government, in any part of India; for the troops which had gone away to Myſore, were hereafter to be regarded as a band of military adventurers ſeeking fortune and ſubſiſtence. In Bengal, they had not a ſingle agent or repreſentative; and their factories at Surat and Callicut were mere trading houſes on ſufferance. Thus after a war of 15 years, which commenced with the expedition of De la Bourdonnais againſt Madras in 1746 (*g*), and had continued from that time with ſcarcely the intermiſſion of one year, was retaliated the ſame meaſure of extirpation, which had been intended, and invariably purſued, by the French councils againſt the Engliſh commerce and power: for ſuch, as is avowed in the French memoirs

finding the burthen too heavy, the King, willing and deſirous to maintain the Company in all their juſt rights and privileges, ſent a ſquadron to perform ſuch ſervices as may be moſt conducive to the intereſt of the ſaid Company, and of ſuch Indian princes, with whom they have or may contract engagements."

The Admiral is alſo directed "with his beſt advice to aſſiſt the General Council, which the Company have directed a certain number of perſons employed in their ſervice, to form themſelves into, in order to conſider of and reſolve upon a proper plan of operation; and when the plan is agreed upon, to make uſe of the force under his command, in order to put the ſame in execution in the beſt manner poſſible."

"That he ſhall aſſiſt, and be a member of all councils of war, wherein any ſervice in which the naval force is to co-operate ſhall be taken into conſideration." And they declare it the Royal "will and pleaſure, that the Admiral ſhould cautiouſly avoid whatſoever may be conſtrued an act of hoſtility againſt the ſubjects, &c. of any European potentate, unleſs the General Council, nominated by the India Company as above mentioned, ſhould think it abſolutely neceſſary for him to make reprisals."

(*f*) After the declaration of war, the ſecretary of ſtate, under date 11th January 1757, writes the admiral:

"The Company, it is hoped, having a perfect knowledge of their own affairs, may form ſuch plans of operation, as may beſt ſecure their poſſeſſions or annoy the enemy; and it is therefore his Majeſty's pleaſure, that the commanders of his ſhips ſhall concur and aſſiſt in the execution thereof."

(*g*) From this period, ſays Mr. Orme, it is uſeful to contemplate the progreſs made by the Engliſh in Indoſtan, both in the ſcience and ſpirit of war.

The

In the courſe of much deliberation and debate, Mr. Orme, who, having reſided nine years in the company's ſervice at Calcutta, well knew the ſtrength and inſolence of the Mooriſh government in Bengal, declared that nothing ſhort of the moſt vigorous hoſtilities would induce the Nabob to make peace or reparation. He conſidered the force that was propoſed as quite inadequate even to the recapture of Calcutta; and inſiſted that it ought to be ſufficient to attack the Nabob even in his capital of Muxadavad; that there ſhould be at leaſt a battalion of 800 Europeans, with as many ſepoys as could be embarked, but not less than 1500; that the ſquadron, if divided, would be of little ſervice any where, and therefore that the whole ſhould proceed to Bengal. Such an armament, he thought, would ſoon decide the conteſt; and after a peace ſhould be effected, the ſquadron, with a large part of the troops, might return and arrive in the month of April; before which time the nature of the monſoons rendered it improbable that the French armament, as it had not yet appeared, would be able to make its paſſage to the coaſt. Beſides, the

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Remarks on a Memorial of the French Eaſt India Company delivered to the Count D'Aché, Chef d'Eſcadre, and commanding the Squadron deſtined to the Eaſt Indies towards the latter end of the Year 1756.

Article 7. Remarks, that it is probable the Engliſh ſquadron may be in Trincumaley Bay, either as a place of ſecurity againſt the French, or to careen. In either caſe, the Commander of the French ſquadron is inſtructed to declare to the Dutch that it is againſt the rules of a ſtrict neutrality to receive and protect in their port the Enemies of France. That he has orders to purſue, and take or burn the Enemy's ſhips, whenever he ſhall meet them, which order he muſt obey in ſpite of their oppoſition.

Article 8.—Points out the places where it is probable the Engliſh ſquadron may take ſhelter, and adviſes the taking or burning it in any part of India, though belonging to neutral powers, as Trincumaley, Merguy, Achen, or any other port, except in China or Bengal; where, they obſerve, it may not be prudent to commit any violence, leſt their Commerce ſuffer for infringing the protection which the Government may give to Engliſh

It appears from hence, that this reſtriction proceeded only from an apprehenſion of hurting their Trade, not out of reſpect to the Law of Nations.

Article 10.—Points out the operations for 1758; and, ſuppoſing Madras or Fort St. George taken in 1757, adviſes the immediate attack of the remaining ſettlements, and the total expulſion of the Engliſh from the Coromandel Coaſt; which, in another place, the Company obſerves, is the firſt object of their attention, that their future views on that Coaſt may more readily take place. They alſo recommend the deſtruction of

the detachment which had been ſent to the relief of M. Buſſy, commanding in the Northern provinces, had deprived the government of Pondicherry of the means of making any attempt in the Carnatic which the force at Madras could not eaſily fruſtrate.

This opinion of Mr. Orme's, after repeated objections had been ſtarted and removed, became at laſt the unanimous ſenſe of the council; and the reſolution was communicated to admiral Watſon, who, after holding a council of war, took meaſures for carrying it into effect.

Other

Devecotah, Ingeram, Vizagapatam, and the reſt of the Factories to the Northward, as well as the infant ſettlement at the Negrais.

Article 11.—Propoſes, that in caſe they arrive too late at the Iſlands, to be on the Coromandel Coaſt time enough to undertake any enterprize before the Monſoon of 1757, to project any other operation which may not interfere with, or delay the operations on the Coaſt of Coromandel early in 1758. Some ſhips are particularly recommended to be ſent to Bencoolen to take that place, and the other ſettlements on Sumatra, from whence all the Engliſh and ſlaves are to be carried off to the Iſland of Bourbon.

Article 13.—Obſerves, that there is ſtill in India a better underſtanding between the Dutch and Engliſh than there is in Europe, to the prejudice of France; and therefore little regard ought to be paid to their Flag, if any Britiſh Subjects or Effects are found with them *(i)*.

In another Inſtruction for Count D'Aché, ſent by De L'Aguille on the 8th December 1757, it is ſaid:

Article 4.—That ſhould the operations on the River Bengal be attended with ſucceſs, the conquered Places may either be kept, or the Fortifications, Civil Buildings and Warehouſes utterly deſtroyed. Should the latter plan be reſolved on, not a Factory ought

(i) This article was, in the execution, carried even beyond the order; for the French ſeized the Haerlem, a Dutch Indiaman, which made one of their blockading ſquadron at the ſiege of Madras; they alſo took poſſeſſion of the *Dutch Fort* of *Sadraſs* merely as a convenient *Place* of *Arms*, in the vicinity of *Madras*. The Engliſh ladies, after the commencement of the ſiege, being ſent to Sadraſs, as a neutral ſettlement, for ſecurity, were ſurprized, on their arrival, to find it in poſſeſſion of the French. The French loaded the boats that brought the ladies with military ſtores, and diſpatched them to Lally, who was beſieging Madras; but the native boatmen, concerting together, on a ſignal, ſeized the French guards in the boats, and brought them priſoners to Madras, with the military ſtores; which Governor Pigot bought for the Eaſt India Company, and gave the boatmen the amount, in reward for their fidelity.

Other points, however, of equal moment to the ſucceſs of the expedition, remained to be decided: Who ſhould command the land-forces? What ſhould be the extent of his authority in military operations, and in negotiations with the Nabob? In what dependence, or relation, ought he to ſtand with the late governor and council of Calcutta; and how far ſhould their authority be maintained or impaired?

On theſe important topics much conſideration and argument took place; and the difficulty of deciding the laſt point, that of the authority of the late council of Calcutta, ſuggeſted to Mr. Pigot, the governor of Madras, an idea of going himſelf to Bengal as commander of the army, and with full powers as the company's repreſentative in all other affairs. He, however, wanted military experience; nor had the council authority to give ſo extenſive a commiſſion to any individual. Colonel Adlercron then claimed the military command, offering to go with his whole regiment; but he wanted experience in the irregular warfare of India, and his powers were independent of the company's agents. Mr. Orme ſtrongly urged, that on the ſucceſs of this expedition, the reputation of the Britiſh arms in India, and the conſequent ſtability of the company's poſſeſſions, moſt materially depended. He repreſented the nature of the country which the expedition was deſtined to invade; the magnitude of the army which it would have to oppoſe; the numerous difficulties and dangers

ought to remain, nor an Engliſh inhabitant (even thoſe born in the Country) ſuffered to reſide in the province.

This reſolution, they obſerve, is the moſt effectual means to eſtabliſh their reputation on the Ganges; but they ſeem to recommend only the deſtruction of the new Fort, and the preſervation of old Calcutta, on condition of a ranſom, and the obſervance of a ſtrict neutrality in Bengal for the future; this the French ſeem moſt deſirous of, but inſiſt on ready money for the ranſom, and hoſtages for the performance of agreements. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in a letter of the 23d January 1757 to Count D'Aché, inſtructed him not to leave an Engliſhman in any place that ſhall be taken, but to ſend away in Cartel Ships to St. Helena, or ſuffer to paſs to England, all Free Merchants and Inhabitants not in the Company's Service; but to keep priſoners, all Civil Servants, Officers, and Soldiers, and not ſet any at liberty, unleſs exchanged againſt thoſe of equal rank. As to the priſoners, they are all to be ſent to the Iſland of Bourbon, and there kept in depoſit till it may be thought proper to ſend them to France.

dangers with which it would infallibly be ſurrounded; and the neceſſity, therefore, of veſting the command of it in an officer who ſhould not only be equally intelligent and active, but alſo accuſtomed to the peculiarities of Indian warfare, and acquainted with the character of the natives. The ſucceſs of ſuch an enterprize, he ſaid, would depend not leſs on the keen diſcernment and deciſive judgment, than on the perſonal valour and intrepidity, of him to whom it might be entruſted. In this opinion, Mr. Orme was ſupported by Col. Lawrence (*k*), then a member of the council, and commander in chief of the company's troops.

At length, on the recommendation of our Author, lieut. col. Clive was finally choſen as the perſon in all reſpects beſt qualified for the undertaking. The well-known reſult was a glorious confirmation of the wiſdom and propriety of the choice; and it ſerves to place in a ſtriking point of view, the penetrating ſagacity and ſound judgment of Mr. Orme, to whom his country is indebted for this hazardous enterprize having been placed under the guidance of Clive, whoſe intrepid and adventurous genius could perhaps have alone conducted it to the important conqueſt which it achieved. The details will be found well related by our author in the ſecond volume of his Military Tranſactions in Indoſtan.

In all the deliberations of the council of Madras relative to the military operations in the Carnatic between the years 1754 and 1759, Mr. Orme took an active part; and in ſome of the moſt critical conjunctures of that war, his abilities, as a politician and a ſtateſman, appeared particularly conſpicuous. Indeed, ſo ſenſible were the court of directors of the benefit which the public ſervice derived from his advice, and ſo highly was his general conduct eſteemed, that he was appointed the eventual ſucceſſor to the governor of Madras; but did not continue in India long enough to ſucceed to that honourable ſtation.

In

(*k*) Col. Lawrence would probably have been himſelf appointed on this expedition; but the climate of Bengal was well known to be ſo adverſe to an aſthmatic diſorder, with which he was afflicted, that it was thought he would be diſabled from that inceſſant activity ſo requiſite to the ſucceſs of an expedition of which the termination muſt be limited to a certain time.

In conſequence of his duty as a member of council, Mr. Orme held the offices of commiſſary and accountant-general during the years 1757-8; ſo that almoſt the whole of his time was occupied in public buſineſs: he nevertheleſs found leiſure to cultivate the friendſhip of thoſe in whom he diſcovered any eſtimable qualities. With admiral Watſon and ſir George Pocock he was in habits of great intimacy; and with capt. Speke, who commanded the flag-ſhip then on the Indian ſtation (*l*), he contracted a cloſe friendſhip, which not only contributed to their own gratification, but tended to advance the public ſervice; for by their cordial and united exertions many difficulties and impediments which obſtructed the co-operation of the land and naval forces were either ſurmounted or removed. He entertained alſo a high eſteem for Mr. James Alexander (afterwards earl of Caledon), who was his deputy as accountant-general. About this time too he became acquainted with Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, who has ſince acquired ſo much well-deſerved reputation by his hydrographical works. Mr. Orme, perceiving that that gentleman had capacity for a diſtinguiſhed ſtation, was deſirous of having him nominated to ſucceed Mr. Alexander as deputy-accountant; and though his endeavours in this particular were unſucceſsful, he continued with a generous attention to cheriſh and befriend him.

Though Mr. Orme's official avocations prevented him from applying to the ſtudy of claſſical literature, for which he had in his youth imbibed an ardent deſire, they afforded him great facilities for collecting thoſe hiſtorical materials whereby that literary character which he was ambitious to gain was deſtined to be eſtabliſhed. The delicate ſtate of his health, however, about this time induced him to return to England; for which purpoſe he embarked, at the latter end of 1758, on board the Grantham, capt. Oliver.

In doubling the Cape of Good Hope, on the 4th Jan. 1759, the Grantham was taken by the French. As England was at that time at war with France, capt. Oliver had hoiſted Dutch colours. On approaching the Cape, the Grantham was met by two French line-of-battle ſhips, who paſſed her; but juſt as she was about to enter Table Bay,

(*l*) To whoſe ſpirit and abilities Mr. Orme pays an honourable tribute in his "Military Tranſactions." See vol. ii. p. 142—4.

Bay, ſome of the French officers remarked to their commodore, that the veſſel which they had paſſed could not be Dutch, ſhe was ſo well navigated and manœuvred; they therefore bore down, took her, and carried her to the iſle of Mauritius; where, from Mr. Orme's papers, we find he continued ſome time.

It was not poſſible in any ſituation for Mr. Orme's mind to be unemployed; and a few extracts from the memoranda that he kept, while detained in this French ſettlement, may not be uſeleſs or unamuſing.

"The Dutch (he obſerves) on the 19th Sept. 1598 diſcovered the Iſle of Maurice, which they called by that name. It was till then called by the Portugueſe the Iſle of CERNE.

"In the year 1665 *(m)* no Europeans were eſtabliſhed in the Iſle of Maurice: In 1759 (July) how peopled! how improved!

"I ſaw in the iſland of Mauritius two cinnamon trees, procured by Mr. Godeheu from Ceylon, which were planted at the redoubt, and of which great hopes were entertained, as they grew apace; but from the general climate of the iſland, and the particular ſtate of the part in which they are planted, I am perſuaded that they, or at leaſt their ſucklings, will degenerate. The mountains of Mauritius are covered with a fat ſoil, the product of the foreſts with which they are crowded. It rains on them almoſt daily; and when it does not, there is a continued miſt. Cinnamon, which will not grow in perfection on the continent of India that is parallel to Ceylon, will probably fail elſewhere, unleſs the ſame kind of climate and ſoil as that of Ceylon can be found in other parts; and neither, I believe, are to be met with near the tropic of Capricorn."

From Mr. Orme's memoranda in the Mauritius, we ſhall only give the following additional paſſage:

"The Chineſe had, long before us in Europe, attempted the philoſopher's ſtone and the elixir of immortality; and they ſtill continue in theſe deluſions. It is remarkable, that they think theſe ſecrets are permitted only to thoſe who have acquired the higheſt degree of virtue: ſo ſay their chemical authors. Perhaps ſome of their ancient moraliſts may have ſaid, in terms at once ſimple and metaphorical, that virtue gave gold and immortality. In an age of ignorance, ſucceeding to times of which ſo fine a ſentiment demonſtrates the illumination, ſome crazy chemiſt may have thought that gold and life were to be acquired, provided

(m) There is probably an error in this date.

provided he made virtue one of the ingredients of his operation. The gods of the latter Egyptians were formed from as groſs miſapprehenſions."

Toward the end of the year 1759, Mr. Orme arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where he remained ſome weeks for the benefit of his health. From the Cape he embarked for France (meaning to make a ſhort ſtay there previous to his return to England), and landed at Nantes in the ſpring of 1760.

His perfect acquaintance with the language, and his polite addreſs, procured him all thoſe pleaſing attentions, and flattering civilities, which at that time ſo much diſtinguiſhed the French nation. During his ſtay in France, he attended the repreſentations of two plays, one called *Les Philoſophes*, written by Paliſſot de Montenoy; and the other *Le Caffé, ou L'Ecoſſaiſe*, written by Voltaire. On theſe we find ſome remarks among the papers of Mr. Orme, which we think not unworthy of tranſcription.

" On the 2d of May 1760, M. Paliſſot de Montenoy, de pluſieurs Academies, gave a Comedy at the Theatre of Paris, entitled, Les Philoſophes. This he afterwards printed, with a preface, in which are ſeveral quotations from different metaphyſical and moral or immoral works, to prove that the authors were Materialiſts, and that they eſtabliſhed principles deſtructive of all ſound morality as well as religion.

It is ſaid, that particular perſons, as D'Alembert, Diderot, Du Clos, Helvetius, le Chevalier Jaucourt, and Rouſſeau of Geneva, all men of moſt reſpectable conditions, were deſigned in the characters of Paliſſot's play.

Theſe characters form a conſpiracy to obtain in marriage, for one of the ſet, a rich heireſs, through the aſcendancy that they have gained over the mother, who is a pretender to philoſophy, to wit, and learning; and is even an author.

This alarmed; and the more, as M. Le Franc's diſcourſe to the Academy had repreſented moſt of theſe gentlemen, and at their head Voltaire, as diſturbers of ſociety, and incapable of being uſeful members of it, ſince they were not Chriſtians.

There were not wanting able pens to defend the moſt learned men in France againſt M. Paliſſot; nor was M. Paliſſot wanting to the defence of his piece.

The Viſion of Paliſſot, written by M. ——— procured the author the honour of going to the Baſtile. It is written in the manner of a chapter of the Bible, with ſtrong wit. Nothing of ill that could be imputed to Paliſſot is forgotten.

Political

Political Devotion is the ſpectre that appears to Paliſſot, preſſed by Poverty, and orders him to write his Play.

The Qu'eſt ce is a ſtring of queſtions concerning M. Paliſſot and his play; in which his Morals, and Abilities as an author, are handled with the utmoſt wit.

It was ſaid, that M. Voltaire had condemned Paliſſot; to confute which opinion, he publiſhes the letters that had paſſed on the ſubject between him and M. Voltaire. M. Voltaire adviſes him to acknowledge his errors, in having imputed quotations to perſons who were not the authors of them; adviſes him to be tender of his dear Encyclopædiſts, and to eat the capon with his neighbour, inſtead of flinging the kettle at his head.

After this appeared Diſcours ſur la Satyre contre les Philoſophes; that is, on Paliſſot's play. I heard Paliſſot ſay, that he believed M. D'Alembert was the author of this piece; but that, whoever he was, the piece was well written. The author inveighs againſt all perſonalities on the theatre, and condemns that of Moliere on Cotin. He then draws a parallel between the Clouds of Ariſtophanes and the philoſophers of Paliſſot; and imputes the death of Socrates to the malicious ridicule with which Ariſtophanes had preſented him on the theatre, although the Clouds were acted twenty-three years before Socrates drank the hemlock. He then goes on with an ingenious enumeration of the ſubjects of the reſt of Ariſtophanes' comedies, and ſhews that from ſtep to ſtep the licentiouſneſs of his imagination found at laſt nothing ſo exalted as to be out of the reach of his deſperate ſatire. There runs throughout a certain air of parallel between principal characters in Paris, and what were ſuch at Athens in the time of Socrates, which parallel is wrought with great addreſs. Voltaire is rebuked for having brought Freron on the ſtage, under the name of Frelon, in the Ecoſſaiſe.

Reponſe aux differens Ecrits publié contre la Comedie des Philoſophes;
which is likewiſe entitled,

A parallel of that comedy with the Clouds of Ariſtophanes, the Mechant of Griſſet, and the Femmes Sçavantes of Moliere.

This parallel is rendered long by the expoſition of four pieces, and is intended to prove that M. Paliſſot is nothing indebted to Ariſtophanes, Moliere, or Griſſet; and, above all, that his comedy is very well written.

It is well written; but the queſtion is, whether it ought to have been written?

The author particularly directs his anſwer againſt the Diſcours ſur la Satyre contres les Philoſophes, as this is the Ægis of his adverſaries; and here does he anſwer by deſcribing Socrates as a very great villain, and Ariſtophanes as the ableſt and honeſteſt man in Athens. What would have become of all our ideas of antiquity, and, may we not add, of morality, had he proved this!

Luckily he has not.

His imputations againſt Socrates are:

That he bribed the Oracle to give him the title of the wiſeſt of men;

That he was a bad paymaſter, and made uſe of ſubterfuges to diſappoint his creditors;

That he declared himſelf born of a vicious diſpoſition, which he had corrected by philoſophy;

That he affected to be the head of a ſect, to walk without ſhoes, to be pale and lean; and,

That whoever attacks the received religious opinions of a country, without propoſing better, is either a madman or a rebel.

The force of the firſt two of theſe objections depends on verifying the fact. Had the fact ever been verified, is it probable that Socrates would have had a temple dedicated to him by the ſame Athenians who conſpired to put him to death?

It is to be decided, whether a motive of vanity, or the hopes of encouraging his diſciples, made Socrates declare himſelf born of a vicious diſpoſition. He did not declare this till a diſcerning eye pronounced abſolutely on his phyſiognomy, that it carried marks contrary to his character in life: he then confeſſed the truth. The world in general are perſuaded that there is no conquering nature, no return from vice; and this perſuaſion is appealed to, to ſupport the Author's defamation of Socrates; but this perſuaſion is falſe, and is extremely detrimental to ſociety, being alone ſufficient to create in moſt minds the effect which it ſo confidently affirms.

If he was pale and lean, contemplative men are generally ſo: if he was negligent to a great degree in his dreſs, that likewiſe is the character of deep thinking men: perhaps he was poor.

Socrates did propoſe a better ſyſtem than that of their Mythology to the Athenians, by preaching the adoration of one only God; for which if he was to blame, the firſt Chriſtians were as mad and as rebellious to the ſtates in which they lived, as Socrates was to that of Athens.

But whatever advantage the doctrine of one may have over that of the other, Socrates and the Chriſtians both are equally blameleſs as to their intentions; as both were intimately perſuaded of the truth, of the goodneſs, and of the neceſſity of the ſyſtems which they promulgated, and acted alike from different views.

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La Comedie Larmoyante of the French may, perhaps, be tranſlated into Engliſh, with ſome propriety, by the expreſſion of *The Pathetic Comedy*; ſuch is eminently, in our language, The Conſcious Lovers.

Le Caffé, ou L'Ecoſſaiſe, par M. de Voltaire, publiſhed in 1760, is of this kind, and wonderfully affecting. Voltaire humorouſly pretends, that he has tranſlated it from a comedy written by Mr. Hume the miniſter, brother to Mr. Hume ſi celebré par ſon impieté; and, in conſequence, in his preface gives an advantageous character of his piece, with the ſame indifference as if he was not the author

of it; but this character is ſo juſt, that no other can be properly given of it. He ſays,

"This comedy appears to be one of thoſe works which will ſucceed in all languages, becauſe the author paints nature, which is every where the ſame. He has the ſimplicity of the eſtimable Goldoni, with perhaps more intrigue, more force and intereſt. The unravelling of the plot, the character of the heroine, and that of Freeport, reſemble nothing that we know on the ſtage; and yet are they nature itſelf. This piece appears a little in the taſte of thoſe Engliſh romances which have had ſo much ſucceſs. The touches are the ſame; the ſame painting of the manners; nothing ſtudied; no attempt to be witty, and miſerably to ſhew the author, when nothing but the characters ought to be ſhewn. Nothing foreign to the ſubject; none of thoſe unmeaning ſtrings of ſounding words, the conſtant attempt, and the unfailing reproach, of the author who begins to learn to write: none of thoſe trivial maxims which fill up the void

Monſ. de Voltaire, in his own, might have found exceptions to the cenſure that he paſſes on the French comedies. He has never deviated from nature, in Nanine, L'Enfant Prodigue, &c.

He ſays in another part of his preface:

"What ſtrikes us ſtrongly in this piece, is, that the unities of time, place, and action, are ſcrupulouſly obſerved in it."

So they are; but, in order to obtain the unity of place, he has given a very extenſive and a very uncommon conſtruction to his coffee-houſe. This and one or two expreſſions of the perſons who frequent it for news, are all the defects that I ſee in it.

M. Voltaire continues:

"It has moreover this merit, rare with the Engliſh as with the Italians, that the theatre is never void. Nothing is more common, or more ſhocking, than to ſee two actors go off the ſtage, and two others come in their place, without being without being expected. This inſupportable defect is not found in the

"As to the ſpecies in which this comedy is to be ranked, it is of the higher comedy mixed with the ſimple. The good man ſmiles at it with that ſmile of the ſoul preferable to the broadeſt laugh of mirth. There are paſſages that ſoften us even to tears, but yet without any perſon's endeavouring to be pathetic; for as true pleaſantry conſiſts in not intending to be pleaſant; ſo he who moves you does not think of giving you emotion: he is no rhetorician; every thing proceeds from the heart. Woe to him who *endeavours* in any kind whatſoever."

He ſays in another part:

"What is very important, is, that this comedy is of an excellent moral, and worthy of the gravity of the prieſthood with which the author is veſted, without loſing any thing of what may pleaſe the public in general."

And here let it be ſaid, in honour of M. Voltaire's dramatic works, that no

writer for the theatre has rendered virtue more amiable, and the ſubjection to our paſſions more dreadful.

If the quotations that I have made from M. Voltaire's preface were repreſented as a criticiſm on the Ecoſſaiſe, there is nobody but would acquieſce in the impartiality of it; but nobody would ſuſpect that it was the author giving praiſes to his own work. Voltaire, who accompliſhes every thing, has done this without hurting us.

It remains to ſpeak of Freron: This man, the author of Literary Journals at Paris, Un homme de lourde Mine, qui ſur la plume afondi ſa Cuiſine, has vilified Voltaire, as Voltaire ſays he has heard from thoſe who read his Journals; and he retaliates by making him appear on the ſtage under the name of Frelon, Waſp, in the character of a calumniator, an informer, and a dunce. He apologizes for Mr. Hume's bringing ſuch a wretch on the ſtage; but he juſtifies him by ſaying, "that his Waſp appears only in thoſe moments when the intereſt is not yet become lively and touching; imitating thoſe painters, who paint a toad, a lizard, or a viper, in a corner of their pictures, while they preſerve to the capital figures all the nobleneſs of their characters."

In this happy ſimile we diſcover the hand of the great maſter, while he ſeems to be only ſporting with his pencil.

There is another ſtroke ſtill more happy:

"Theſe ſubaltern Aretins get their bread by ſpeaking and doing evil, under the pretence of being uſeful to letters;

"As if the caterpillars that gnaw the fruits and flowers could be of uſe to them."

In October 1760, Mr. Orme arrived in London, and ſoon afterwards purchaſed a houſe which was then building in Harley-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare. Here he began to collect his elegant and valuable library, compriſing the moſt choice editions of the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Engliſh authors; and alſo to accumulate materials, regardleſs of labour or expenſe, for the completion of his "Hiſtory of the Military Tranſactions of the Britiſh Nation in Indoſtan, from the year 1745," which he had long meditated. Theſe materials, printed and manuſcript, he had begun to collect ſoon after his arrival in India in 1742. In arranging and forming them into an hiſtorical compoſition, he was occupied upwards of two years (*n*).

In

(*n*) Mr. Orme uſed frequently to lament the want of an Oriental collection of manuſcripts and printed books in this country; for affording that information on Indian affairs, the expenſe and labour of obtaining which was oppreſſive in the extreme when

In Auguſt 1763, the firſt volume of the Hiſtory was publiſhed; and the reception that it met with, was well calculated to gratify his expectation of literary fame. This volume contained a particular account of the affairs of India, down to the commencement of the war between the Engliſh and French in 1756; and communicated more real information reſpecting that extenſive country, than all the books that had been publiſhed prior to its time. The plans of the battles, ſieges, &c. taken by the chief engineers, by which the hiſtory is illuſtrated, are highly valuable; but the maps eſpecially, as being improved from the actual marches of the Britiſh and French armies. To this volume our author prefixed a conciſe Hiſtorical Diſſertation on the Mahomedan Conqueſts and Eſtabliſhments in Indoſtan, compriſing a review of the peculiar character and cuſtoms of the Hindu people. Having little or no acquaintance with the learned languages of Aſia, and being therefore denied acceſs to ſome important authorities on thoſe complicated ſubjects, he was led into a few miſconceptions; which, however, were very excuſable, as there did not exiſt, at the time when he wrote, any tranſlations from Aſiatic writers into the European languages relative to the political hiſtory and civil inſtitutions of Indoſtan. His account of the Hindus appears to have been principally derived from his own actual obſervations, and is in general ſo accurate, and written with ſuch clearneſs and ſimplicity, that we think it better calculated to convey to European readers a diſtinct idea of the general character and habits of thoſe people, than almoſt any of the more recent productions on that ſubject. With reſpect to the early Mahomedan conqueſts, his principal guides were D'Herbelot, and other the moſt authentic authorities he could meet with; he is therefore for the moſt part correct ſo far as relates to the Ghaznian and Tartar conquerors; but regarding the ſubſequent eſtabliſhment of the Mogul dynaſty, as well as the hiſtory of its progreſs, and the inſtitutions of its moſt renowned princes, his account is occaſionally erroneous and defective;

when undertaken by private individuals. The eſtabliſhment of ſuch a library, he obſerved, would be a national honour, the expenſe of which would be trivial, in compariſon with the advantage that muſt accrue from it. He uſed to add, that a ſhip's cargo of original and valuable MSS. might be collected in the ſettlements between Delhi and Cape Comorin.

ſective; of which he ſeems to have been aware, by the ſubſequent publication of the "Hiſtorical Fragments" in this volume. His hiſtory of the wars in the Carnatic, however, has not been more celebrated than it deſerves, for the fidelity, impartiality, and accuracy of its details. The critique on this volume in the Annual Regiſter for the year 1764, is very explicit, and deſerves to be tranſcribed:

"The manners and characters of the various people who inhabit the great empire of Indoſtan, the peculiarities of their religion and their policy, and the aſtoniſhing events which have lately happened in that part of the world, have rendered the hiſtory of the wars in India an object of general curioſity. The great intereſt we have ſtill in that empire, always as a trading, lately as a conquering people, will make a proper narration of our former proceedings there a matter of the moſt uſeful inſtruction. The author of this work has gratified this curioſity, and communicated this inſtruction. No hiſtorian ſeems to have been more perfectly informed of the ſubject on which he has undertaken to write; and very few have poſſeſſed more fully the talent of impreſſing it, in the cleareſt and moſt vivid manner, on the imagination and underſtanding of his reader. In this work the events are fully prepared; the characters ſtrongly delineated; and the ſituations well deſcribed. It is no uncommon thing to find in ordinary writers more of the confuſion, than of the life and ſpirit of the fight, in their deſcriptions of an engagement. But nothing can be more clear and ſatisfactory than the whole detail of military tranſactions which we find in this conteſt. Whether the march or the retreat, the attack or the defence, the encampment or the battle, every thing is drawn with accuracy and preciſion, in great detail, but without any thing tedious. In theſe particulars, Polybius will be ſcarcely thought to exceed him.

"It muſt be obſerved likewiſe to his honour, that there reigns through the whole work an air of diſintereſtedneſs, and of freedom from all paſſion and prejudice, public or private. The Frenchman who acts gallantly or wiſely, finds as much juſtice done to his actions and his conduct, as any of the author's countrymen. The ſame impartiality ſeems to have been obſerved with regard to all perſonal connections. This volume does not carry the war further than 1755. It were to be wiſhed that the author may finiſh what he has begun in ſo promiſing a manner."

Having, by this publication, introduced himſelf to the world with ſo much advantage, our author became ſolicitous to ſupport and advance his literary reputation, by ſtoring his mind with a competent knowledge of the antient claſſics; which he knew to be eſſential, not only

only to the cultivation of a pure taſte, but to the attainment of eminence in literature. With this view, he applied himſelf with his uſual diligence to the ſtudy of the Greek and Latin languages, which he had nearly forgotten, and which in a ſhort time he is ſaid to have completely maſtered. The erudition which he thereby acquired ſtrengthened his habits of thinking, in the ſame proportion as it informed and poliſhed his underſtanding; and his converſation, which had been always marked by ſtrong ſenſe, received from this ſource additional vigour and vivacity. His company therefore was much ſolicited by the learned and intelligent, and almoſt every day brought him ſome new friend of literary acquirements; particularly the late Edwin lord Sandys, and James Harris, Eſq. whoſe learning and friendſhip he highly valued.

Mr. Orme had, in 1750, commenced a very agreeable intercourſe and ſincere friendſhip with Mr. Benjamin Robins (*o*), who had juſt then arrived at Madras from England, as engineer-general of all the Company's fortifications in India; and who immediately planned thoſe of Fort St. David and Madras, but did not live to finiſh them, though they were afterwards completed upon his plan. Mr. Robins died with his pen in his hand, July 29, 1751, while in the act of drawing up for the Company ſome official ſtatements.

It was a little remarkable, that ten years afterwards, Mr. Orme, on his arrival in England, ſhould meet and form an acquaintance with three very intimate and learned friends of Mr. Robins; viz. Dr. Henry

(*o*) Termed by Mr. Orme a man of great ſcience, and an honour to his country. Mr. Robins was the real narrator of "Lord Anſon's Voyage round the World," which carries in the title-page the name of the Rev. Richard Walter, chaplain of the Centurion. We find alſo, by the following letter from lord Anſon, that had Mr. Robins remained in England, he deſigned to have added a ſecond volume to that work:

"DEAR SIR, "Bath the 22d October, 1749.

"When I laſt ſaw you in town, I forgot to aſk you, whether you intended to publiſh the ſecond volume of my voyage before you leave us, which, I confeſs, I am very ſorry for. If you ſhould have laid aſide all thoughts of favouring the world with more of your works, it will be much diſappointed; and no one in it more than your very much obliged humble ſervant, ANSON.

"P. S. If you can tell the time of your departure, let me know it."

Henry Pemberton and Dr. James Wilſon (*p*), aſſociates of the late Sir Iſaac Newton, and Mr. John Nourſe, an eminent bookſeller in the Strand, a man of great mathematical ſcience, deeply ſkilled in the Newtonian philoſophy, and who in early life had alſo the honour and happineſs of being known to Sir Iſaac (*q*). Mr. Nourſe was at that time preparing for the preſs the learned works of Mr. Robins, under the care of Dr. Wilſon; who, in a very critical and learned preface, obſerves,

"Theſe [Mr. Robins's abilities as an engineer] I have heard highly praiſed by many intelligent perſons who have been upon the ſpot; and what is ſtill more, I have been informed [by Mr. Orme] that they were approved of by the brave Colonel Clive, who, through the force of genius alone, becoming a ſelf-taught commander, has, with matchleſs conduct as well as valour, retrieved our ſinking affairs in thoſe parts of the world."

Scarcely a week paſſed, that Dr. Wilſon and Mr. Orme did not meet at Mr. Nourſe's houſe, to enjoy a literary converſation. At the ſame place and time, our author formed an acquaintance with the ingenious and celebrated James Stuart, Eſq. (uſually called Athenian Stuart, from his long reſidence in Greece), who was then about to publiſh the firſt volume of his "Antiquities of Athens meaſured and delineated." With the late Thomas Anſon, Eſq. (*r*) brother of the Admiral Lord Anſon, Mr. Orme alſo became intimate through the means of Mr. Stuart; and the friendſhips that he formed (except,

(*p*) Dr. Pemberton died 9th March 1771, in the 77th year of his age; and Dr. Wilſon about a twelvemonth afterwards, nearly 80 years of age.

(*q*) Mr. Nourſe was born at Oxford in the year 1705, and received a univerſity education there. He was well verſed in the Greek and Latin, as well as the French and Italian languages; and his family had reſided in the city and county of Oxford for more than two centuries. He died April 25, 1780.

(*r*) With this gentleman Mr. Orme often paſſed a ſummer month at his ſeat in Staffordſhire. At his death, Mr. Anſon left him a legacy of 500l. To perpetuate the memory of his friend, Mr. Orme had a handſome white marble buſt of Mr. A. executed by their mutual friend Nollekens in his beſt manner, which was conſpicuouſly placed in his library. It was a moſt admirable likeneſs; and after Mr. Orme's death was, by his executor, ſent to the repreſentative of Mr. Anſon, as the moſt proper perſon to preſerve ſuch a memento of his anceſtor.

cept, perhaps, in one inſtance alone) terminated but with the lives of the parties. We have excepted one inſtance, which was that of Lord Clive, who finally returned from India about 1769. Soon after his arrival a coolneſs aroſe between him and Mr. Orme, which terminated in the total diſſolution of their friendſhip: of the cauſe of this irreconcileable diſagreement we are not informed; and conjecture, on ſuch an occaſion, would be very much miſemployed (*s*).

On the 8th of March 1770, Mr. Orme was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

From the time of the publication of his firſt, he had been aſſiduouſly engaged in preparing materials for a ſecond volume of his "Hiſtory;" which the Court of Directors, with a juſt ſenſe of the utility of his writings, had now enabled him to amplify and correct, by giving him free acceſs to the Records at the India Houſe: at the ſame time they appointed him Hiſtoriographer to the Company, with a ſalary of 400 *l.* a year (*t*).

In order, however, to obtain all poſſible information reſpecting the operations of the French in the Carnatic, he applied to lieut. general Buſſy, who had borne ſo conſiderable a part in them: and that officer

(*s*) Mr. Orme was by many ſuppoſed to have held the pen for Lord Clive, in 1764, in his admirable "Letter to the Proprietors of the Eaſt India Stock;" and from the intimacy which then ſubſiſted between the parties, and the elegance of the compoſition, the conjecture appears to have been by no means improbable.

(*t*) On hearing of the peace made with Hyder Ally, Mr. Orme wrote a letter to a friend, under date Harley-ſtreet, Dec. 1, 1769, of which the following is an extract:

"Harley Street, Dec. 1, 1769.

"By the Bombay ſhip, we have received from Anjengo a copy of the peace made with Hyder Ally; it is decried, but it is a good peace; and ſo neceſſary, that had the war continued two years longer, the Company would have been nearly ruined by it; and would have been completely undone, had a war with France fallen in with it.

"I wiſh much to have the geography of our laſt campaigns well aſcertained. Pray get this done and ſend it me. I am in ſome meaſure appointed Hiſtorian to the Company, and have, by a reſolution of the Court, acceſs to their Records; ſo you need have no ſcruple about theſe kinds of communications to me, as I am, *quaſi*, one of their public officers, as well as yourſelf."

officer thought himſelf under ſuch obligations to Mr. Orme, for the preciſion and impartiality with which he had recorded his actions in the firſt volume, that, upon his going to France in 1773, the general invited him to his country ſeat, where he treated him with elegant hoſpitality, and furniſhed him with ſeveral authentic documents; among which were, a curious narrative of his own tranſactions; and a draft of the route of his various marches about Golcondah, Hyderabad, and in the northern provinces: the latter of which is inſerted in the preſent volume.

In June 1773, Mr. Orme publiſhed a ſecond edition of his firſt volume, with conſiderable improvements; and the following letter, from the afterwards celebrated Sir William Jones, was ſent in acknowledgment of a preſent of that volume:

" DEAR SIR, " Duke-ſtreet, June 26, 1773.

" I was never leſs pleaſed with the ſtudy of the law than at this moment, when my attendance in Weſtminſter Hall prevents me from thanking you in perſon for your moſt elegant and acceptable preſent, which ſhall ever be preſerved amongſt my literary treaſures. Your hiſtory is not one of thoſe books which a man reads once in a curſory manner, and then throws aſide for ever: there is no end of reading and approving it, nor ſhall I ever deſiſt giving myſelf that pleaſure to the laſt year of my life. You may rely on this teſtimony, as it comes from one who not only was never guilty of flattery, but, like Cæſar's wife, would never ſuffer himſelf to be ſuſpected of it.

" It is much to be regretted, that the hiſtorical pieces of Lucceius are not preſerved to us: by a letter or two of his which are extant, he ſeems to have been a man of exquiſite parts and taſte: Cicero declares himſelf charmed with his way of writing, which makes me think that his works would have been far preferable to thoſe of Salluſt and Tacitus, whom I cannot help conſidering as the firſt corruptors of the Roman language and eloquence. As to our language, if yourſelf and perhaps lord Lyttelton had not reſtored it to its native ſimplicity, we ſhould ſoon have been reduced to talk a new dialect, &c. &c. &c.

* * * * * * * * * *

" I have been for the laſt five weeks at Oxford, where I took the degree of Maſter of Arts in the regular courſe. I was much preſſed to ſpeak at the enſuing Encænia; but when I had taken the pains to prepare an oration, in which there was nothing that could offend the moſt obſequious courtier, the perſons, who had urged me to write it, were diſappointed at not finding it a ſlaviſh compliment to the miniſter, and exhorted me not to deliver it in the theatre without a great deal of ſoftening; which determined me not to ſpeak at all: but as I am

pleaſed

pleaſed with the compoſition, which is written wholly in the manner of the Ancients, I ſhall print a few copies for my friends.

" See the loquacity of us lawyers; you honour me with three kind and indulgent lines; and I ſend you in return as many rambling pages: but when friends cannot converſe in perſon, they have no reſource but converſing at a diſtance.

I am, with great truth,
Moſt ſincerely yours,
W. JONES."

Our Author had previouſly been requeſted by Dr. William Robertſon, the hiſtorian, to favour him with a copy of this volume; as we find by the following Epiſtle:

" DEAR SIR, " College of Edinburgh, April 23 1773.

" I ſhall be happy to hear that you ſtill enjoy that more confirmed ſtate of health in which I had laſt the pleaſure of ſeeing you. What progreſs do you make? I hope you do not relax your ardour in carrying on your work, and that if the preſent age may not expect to peruſe the hiſtory of thoſe extraordinary tranſactions you have ſeen, you will not deprive poſterity of that ſatisfaction. I go on as uſual, ſlowly. I have got many uſeful and uncommon books from Spain, and expect ſome manuſcripts by the intereſt of lord Grantham. I flatter myſelf the work will turn out curious and intereſting. Allow me to put you in mind of two promiſes; one, that you would give me ſome criticiſms or ſtrictures upon ſtyle, in ſome parts of my hiſtory; the other, that you would ſend me a copy of the laſt edition of your firſt volume. I wiſh for the former, as I ſhall certainly profit by the ideas of one who has attended ſo much to the purity and elegance of language; and for the latter, that it may remain as a monument, with my ſon, of a connection, of which I ſhall ſay no more, than that I am ſolicitous it ſhould be remembered. In the meantime believe me to be, with moſt ſincere reſpect,

Dear Sir,
Your affectionate and faithful
humble ſervant,
WILLIAM ROBERTSON."

In December of the ſame year, we find Mr. Orme writing to James Alexander, eſq. (afterwards earl of Caledon) an account of his tour to France; from which we extract the following paſſage:

" MY DEAR ALEXANDER, " Dec. 1773.

" I have not received a letter from you ſince the arrival of general Smith —I went with him this year to Spa; we left London the 15th July. We ſeparated

at Bruxelles; he to return directly to London, where his own affairs called him, and I to go to Paris, where I had many books to buy concerning the French affairs in India, and many queſtions to aſk Monſ. Buſſy. I ſucceeded to my wiſh in both theſe intentions. My ſtay at Paris was from the 1ſt October, to the 1ſt November; and on the 8th, I ſaw again my friends in Harley-ſtreet, where, as you may naturally imagine, I find a home that I can find no where elſe. Nevertheleſs, I am much pleaſed with having undertaken this journey; and nothing but the exceſſive expence of travelling, to an invalidiſh man, ſhould prevent me from making more of theſe excurſions; for the ideas obtained by travelling, of places, manners, cuſtoms, &c. cannot be gained by any other means; but my fortune forbids.—We made excurſions from Spa to the Rhine, and croſſed that famous river," &c. &c.

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The letter from which we tranſcribe the following paſſages, bears teſtimony to Mr. Orme's anxiety for accurate information:

" Honble Warren Haſtings, Eſq.

" SIR, " Harley Street, Jan. 14, 1775.

" The educated world have received with the greateſt ſatisfaction the portion you have ſent of the laws of Bengal, and earneſtly wiſh the continuation and accompliſhment of a work which does you ſo much honour. I always thought that ſuch a work muſt be the baſis of any reaſonable government exerciſed by us; but always deſpaired of its execution, knowing to what other views and objects the abilities of Europeans have hitherto been directed in Indoſtan. The ſilent ſtep of philoſophy is gaining ground every day; and your name will not be forgot amongſt the foremoſt of her diſciples, for the valuable preſent you are making to learning and reaſon. I have read, I may ſay have extracted, every thing that has come into England concerning the affairs and revolutions of Delhi, from the invaſion of *Radis Schah* (*u*); but all I can make out is patchwork. What a preſent would you make to me, by procuring for me a full and continued detail of theſe events, which are always blending themſelves with my ſtory.

* * * * * * * * * *

" I earneſtly wiſh the continuance of your health, and every other facility to carry on the important affairs of the government in which you preſide with ſo much diſtinction; and am, with the trueſt eſteem,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Servant,

R. ORME."

(*u*) Suppoſe Nadir Shah.

In 1775, our author publiſhed a very copious Index, and ſeveral conſiderable additions, to the firſt volume of his hiſtory; and of the eagerneſs which the public manifeſted for his ſecond volume, we have a hint in a letter, dated Dec. 30, 1776.

" To C—— F——, Eſq.

" MY DEAR SIR, " Harley-ſtreet, Dec. 30, 1776.

" A ſtone-cutter might copy all the letters that I write in a year; witneſs my five lines to you by a man of war; witneſs, I fear, this. But when you conſider that no man ſees my face, or ſqueezes my hand, without " Ah! Mr. Orme, when ſhall we have your ſecond volume?" you will account for the employment of my pen; and in the ſmall portion of writing my health is able to endure, *

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" I hope your health ſupports itſelf, and Mrs. F—'s continues; for the reſt, I hope I need make no wiſhes which are not anticipated by fortune in favour of your merit. I ſhall write you again and again; but now adieu, my good friend, for a few days.

R. O."

At length, in October 1778, the ſecond volume was publiſhed, in two parts, illuſtrated like the former with numerous Maps, Views, Plans of Towns, Battles, &c. the latter drawn by the Chief Engineer, Mr. Call. It is written with no leſs ability than the firſt volume, and is more intereſting and comprehenſive. It inveſtigates the riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh commerce in Bengal; gives an account of the Mahomedan government from the year 1200, when it was firſt eſtabliſhed there; and carries on the general hiſtory from the calamity which befel the Engliſh ſettlements in 1756, to the peace of 1763.

During the fifteen years that elapſed between the publication of his firſt and that of his ſecond volume, our author gained much additional and more accurate knowledge of the hiſtory and inſtitutions of the Mogul government, and the other native ſtates. Colonel Dow's verſion of Ferihta's Hiſtory of Northern Indoſtan, publiſhed in the courſe of that time, ſerved perhaps to elucidate his reſearches; though, being defective as a tranſlation in many parts, it has occaſionally miſ-

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led him. (*x*) But, as has been well obſerved, "for adopting the miſtakes of his authorities, he cannot juſtly be blamed, as there was no reaſon to ſuſpect, and he poſſeſſed not the means to detect them. They do not therefore impeach the general accuracy of his narrative, nor leſſen the credit which it has ſo juſtly obtained."

In a few days after the publication of his ſecond volume, Mr. Orme received the following letter from Dr. Robertſon:

"DEAR SIR, "College of Edinburgh, Oct. 27, 1778.

"During the courſe of this ſummer, I have expected from week to week to hear that you had fixed a time for ſetting out on your excurſion to Scotland. I cannot expreſs how much I am mortified to find, that now there remains no hope of enjoying the pleaſure of ſeeing you here for this ſeaſon. I flatter myſelf, that this diſappointment of our expectations has not been occaſioned by ill health. As I know how much attention you pay to every thing that comes from your hand, the publication of your ſecond volume encourages me to hope that you have been in firm-enough health to ſuperintend it. I long with impatience to peruſe this volume. This period will be ſtill more intereſting than your former one. The events are greater and more ſplendid, as well as productive of more important conſequences. The ſubject becomes more worthy of being adorned by your pen. According to your deſire, I ſhall ſend to you, by the firſt opportunity, the imperfect copy you gave me of the firſt volume, and I will accept from you, with great pleaſure, a copy of both volumes. I am fond of its being known to my deſcendants, that you and I lived in friendſhip, with mutual eſteem and love.

"My ſon, in lord Macleod's regiment, is ſtill in Jerſey; but the corps is under orders for India, and is expected ſoon at Spithead, in order to ſail with the firſt fleet. If the young man be allowed to viſit London, I will direct him to pay his reſpects to you; but in caſe he ſhould not have time or permiſſion to make that excurſion, I hope you will get ready the recommendatory letters with which you kindly promiſed to favour him. I am told, that it is moſt likely the regiment will be ſtationed at Bombay or Madras; but as its deſtination muſt be regulated by the ſtate of the country when it arrives in India, letters for Calcutta may be materially uſeful. But you can judge with reſpect to this better than a perſon ſo far

(*x*) On the firſt publication of Mr. Dow's verſion of Ferishta's Hiſtory of the Mahomedan Conquerors in Indoſtan, its authenticity was doubted by Dr. Johnſon, Mr. Burke, and others. Mr. Orme defended it, and in the moſt effectual way; for, having a fine copy of it in the original Perſic, a young gentleman then reſiding in his houſe, and well ſkilled in the Perſian language, tranſlated two or three pages of it for their peruſal; which removed the ſcruples that they had before entertained.

far diſtant from intelligence. When I hear of my ſon's arrival at Spithead, I will take the liberty of informing you how your letters may be conveyed to him. From the accounts I have got of his behaviour in the regiment, I flatter myſelf that you may recommend him to your friends as a young man who promiſes to act like a gentleman. Farewel, my dear ſir, and believe me to be, with ſincere reſpect,

Your affectionate and
faithful Servant,
WILLIAM ROBERTSON."

The tranſmiſſion of the work to the Doctor, we find thus acknowledged in a letter which accompanied a preſent, in return, of his Hiſtory of Charles the Fifth:

"College of Edinburgh, February 1ſt, 1781.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I do believe that no two perſons, who have ſo much reciprocal good-will as you and I, are leſs diſpoſed to break in upon each other by expreſſing it. I wiſh we both poſſeſſed a little more of the ſpirit of the French *ſçavans*, and then our letters would be as frequent as now they are rare. To this natural diſinclination to writing of letters, I hope you will be kind enough to impute my neglecting to thank you in proper time for the preſent of your two new volumes. I peruſed them with great eagerneſs, and much ſatisfaction. I can ſay nothing more expreſſive of my entire approbation, than that they equal the firſt. The conteſt in the ſecond part is between parties not ſo equally matched; the viciſſitudes of fortune are leſs ſingular; but wherever the ſubject admitted of it, your narrative carries your readers along, with all that intereſting and unwandering attention, which diſtinguiſhes your mode of writing hiſtory. I incline to think, that *the war of Bengal*, in Books vi. and vii. is the moſt choice *morceau* in your works. When I ſee you, I will venture to mention one or two little criticiſms; for where there is ſo much to praiſe, you can afford ſomething to be blamed.

"My youngeſt ſon will have the honour of preſenting this letter to you. It is my fate to be the father of a military family. Of three ſons, two have choſen to be ſoldiers; the ſecond is now in Madras, and carried out your kind recommendations to ſome of your friends. The youngeſt goes, as I imagine, to the ſame place. By the favour of Mr. Jenkinſon, and the friendſhip of col. Fullarton, I have got him a lieutenant's commiſſion in the colonel's regiment. Though I am unwilling to load my friends with my children, I cannot allow the young man to go out unrecommended, to a ſtation whither his brother carried out ſo many warm letters in his favour. If any of your friends in that preſidency can be of uſe to him, I have ſuch experience of your kindneſs, that I know you will recommend him to their good offices, and will give

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the young adventurer your beſt advices as to his conduct. I hope he has good ſenſe and virtue enough to profit by them. I make no apology for the liberty I uſe with you, who have accuſtomed me to expect what is friendly from your hands.

"I met with an intimate friend of yours, general Richard Smith, at Buxton, and was much pleaſed with his frank, vigorous, deciſive ſpirit. Be ſo good as to preſent my beſt compliments to him. I remember his kind invitation, and do expect from him a better dinner than any we had at the *Hall*. I am ever, with great truth and attachment,

Your faithful humble Servant,
WILLIAM ROBERTSON."

At this time Mr. Orme lived chiefly in London, and aſſociated much with literary men, among whom he ſometimes met Dr. Johnſon, of whoſe wonderful intellectual powers and impreſſive wit he was ſtruck with a juſt admiration. Talking one day with Mr. Boſwell of Johnſon's "Journey to the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland," he thus ſtrongly expreſſed his opinion of it: "It is," ſaid he, "a moſt valuable book: beſides extenſive philoſophical views and lively deſcriptions of ſociety in the country that it deſcribes, it contains thoughts, which, by long revolution in the great mind of Johnſon, have been formed and poliſhed like pebbles rolled in the ocean."

In Boſwell's Life of Johnſon, than which it would be difficult to name a work of more rational entertainment, we find it mentioned, that in another converſation relative to Johnſon, Mr. Orme ſaid, "I do not care on what ſubject Johnſon talks; but I love better to hear him talk than anybody. He either gives you new thoughts, or a new colouring. It is a ſhame to the nation, that he has not been more liberally rewarded. Had I been George the Third, and thought as he did about America, I would have given Johnſon 300*l.* a year for his Taxation no Tyranny alone." I repeated this to Johnſon (ſays Mr. Boſwell), who was much pleaſed "with ſuch praiſe from ſuch a man as Orme."

Another time our author obſerved of a certain gentleman, "It is not, perhaps, a bad expreſſion, to ſay, that A—— has wit enough to fright a man out of his wits."

Having heard that a certain marſhal, Villars, or Saxe, or ſome other, had ſaid, after a battle in which he loſt a great number of men,

"Ce n'eſt plus qu'ayant leurs gorges coupées à Paris;"

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he remarked, that, "whoever the gentleman was, he deſerved that inſtant to add one more to the number of deaths which he treated with ſo much contempt—unleſs he was drunk."

We ſhall only adduce one more inſtance of the promptitude of Mr. Orme's mind, and the energy of his colloquial diction. Being engaged in a converſation reſpecting certain internal fortifications carrying on in England, he obſerved, that "it was the Eagles leaving their neſts, to be defended by Magpies."

A man capable of expreſſing himſelf with ſuch force and preciſion, is naturally fond of company; and if he be of an ingenuous diſpoſition, takes delight in aſſociating with ſuperior minds. While Mr. Orme, therefore, enjoyed a good ſtate of health, much of his time was ſpent in that agreeable and inſtructive way: he did not, however, neglect his literary labours.

In 1781, he publiſhed a third edition, ſtill further improved, of the firſt volume of his Hiſtory, with a very ample Index; perhaps the moſt perfect thing of the kind that has ever been printed; the hiſtory of each perſon or place mentioned in the work being briefly traced in chronological order, and exhibited at one view. A ſimilar Index was afterwards intended for the ſecond volume: a copy was prepared, and the words ſelected for the purpoſe; but his health beginning to decline, he could neither muſter courage nor ſtrength enough to complete it.

In 1782, appeared another moſt laborious work of Mr. Orme's, though compriſed within an octavo volume: we mean his "Hiſtorical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes, and of the Engliſh Concerns in Indoſtan, from the year 1659." That we have not miſcalled this a moſt laborious work, will, we think, be conceded to us, when the reader conſiders the arduous reſearch into printed books, old records, and perſonal information, that is implied by the notes hiſtorical and geographical; and more particularly by the List of Authorities appended to the preſent volume, immediately preceding the Index.

To this work he gave the humble title of "Fragments," with the hope of obtaining farther information reſpecting that important period in the hiſtory of the Eaſt. "The degradation," ſays he, "to which the ſovereignty of the Moguls was at this time (1758) reduced,

in every province of their dominion, proceeded from evils which had been increaſing ever ſince the death of Aurengzebe, and cannot be developed without a general view of his reign, as well as the reigns of his ſucceſſors. This period compriſes one hundred years. The events, if we had acquired the knowledge of them in time, would have formed a proper introduction to the later portion of hiſtory which we have already publiſhed: and the narrative they require is too extenſive to find place as an inſertion in the continuation of that work. We therefore give it apart, and only in the character of Fragments, which the want of more materials diſables us from diſpoſing into a more regular form."—Again: "We are not without hopes, that ſome of the many in India, who have the means, will ſupply the portions of information which are deficient in theſe Fragments, and muſt otherwiſe always continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth the inquiry; for, beſides the magnitude of the events, and the energy of the characters, which ariſe within this period, there are no States or Powers on the Continent of India, with whom our nation have either connexion or concern, who do not owe the origin of their preſent condition to the reign of Aurengzebe, or to its influence on the reigns of his ſucceſſors." In another part he ſays, "Beſides the publications we have enumerated, we have gained information concerning Sevagi, and of events to a later period concerning the early times of the Morattoes, from cotemporary records belonging to the Eaſt India Company. The earlieſt which mentions Sevagi is of the year 1671. Could we have diſcovered the whole ſeries with the collateral branches of correſpondence, from the year 1650, the Fragments we now publiſh would have acquired ſome authentic additions; but the labour would have exceeded the conception of any of our readers, excepting the keeper of the records at the India Houſe."—His account of the famous Sevagi, the founder of the preſent nation of the Morattoes, is extremely curious and intereſting. This man drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore, who boaſt their deſcent from Porus, and are eſteemed the moſt ancient eſtabliſhment of Hindoo princes, and the nobleſt of the Rajpoot tribes.

Preparatory to the compiling of theſe "Fragments," Mr. Orme thought it uſeful to renew his acquaintance with the Portugueſe, Spaniſh,

Spaniſh, Dutch, and Italian languages, that he might conſult in the originals the numerous writers of thoſe nations who have treated of India. His library, indeed, was a ſtrong indication of his extenſive acquirements and correct taſte in every path of literature; not only as it contained the choiceſt editions of all the claſſic authors, ancient and modern, but as having many of them enriched with notes of his own hand-writing in the reſpective languages of their authors: in fact, he ſeems ſcarcely ever to have read a book without making ſome remarks in the margin, tending either to correct error, give force to argument, or extend information.

But to an author of Mr. Orme's accuracy in matters of hiſtorical detail, this was not ſufficient. It would naturally occur to him, that the ſubordinate ſphere in which Europeans were placed, who viſited Aſiatic countries in the courſe of the 17th century, either as merchants, or travellers, or adventurers for employment in the ſervice of the native Princes, could but ill qualify them to obtain correct information with regard to the courts where they arrived; and he ſeriouſly felt the deficiency of his materials, ariſing from his want of acceſs to the more authentic ſource of Eaſtern writers. This deficiency, however, was in a great meaſure ſupplied by the frequent intercourſe which he had about that period with his friend Mr. Boughton Rouſe, of Rouſe Lench in Worceſterſhire, M. P. now ſir Charles Rouſe Boughton, Bart. *(y)*, who, to a high reputation for Oriental learning, and knowledge of the financial and political concerns of India, united a readineſs of communication, which is in various parts of the "Fragments" acknowledged by our Author in the higheſt terms of compliment. From this gentleman he received many extenſive tranſlations out of the Ayeen Acbary, the General and Provincial Hiſtories of Feriſhta, the particular hiſtories of the Reigns of ſeveral of the Mogul Emperors, and other Perſian Manuſcripts, of which he poſſeſſed a large collection; with ſome, more particularly curious, from a compendium of Hindoo and Mahomedan Hiſtory, under the title of Meezân Dâneſh, or balance of knowledge, preſented to him when at the Court of the Emperor Shah Allum, by the Author, who

(y) Many years Chief Secretary of the Board of Controul for Indian Affairs, and now one of the Commiſſioners for auditing the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.

who was a very intelligent Bramin, deputed thither in a public capacity by Rajah Janogï Bhonſileh. Mr. Orme availed himſelf of ſome of theſe materials in his "Hiſtorical Fragments:" and ſuch as he obtained ſubſequent to that publication, he arranged in his own interleaved copy, ſo as to contribute to the improvement of the edition which we now preſent the public.

This was the laſt work which Mr. Orme committed to the preſs. But his ſearch after information was unremitted; and he purſued it under circumſtances of languid health, ſo as to deprive him of the advantages of air and exerciſe. At length, his conſtitution, naturally weak, became ſo much impaired by his continual application to ſtudy, and the ſedentary life which he conſequently led, that he was obliged to confine himſelf at home, and obſerve very regular habits: ſuch, however, was his love of literary ſociety, that he ſeldom denied himſelf to any one who called on him.

When the dreadful news arrived of the loſs of the Groſvenor Indiaman, in which his nephew and his family were paſſengers, it ſo extremely affected Mr. Orme, that it was a long time before even his ſuperior mind could be reconciled to the event. In a letter to a friend, he ſays, "My wretched health has been more impaired by this ſhock; which for many days left me almoſt in a ſtate of ſtupidity!" He alſo notices the misfortune in the following letter to Sir William Jones, then at Calcutta:

"MY DEAR SIR, "Harley-ſtreet, March 12, 1784.

"You will have no doubt that I heard with great pleaſure of your ſafe arrival at Madras; nor that my wiſhes equally accompany you to Bengal, where I hope and truſt that you and lady Jones are eſtabliſhed entirely to your ſatisfaction.

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"I make no doubt but all your vacations are employed in Oriental reſearches. As to the living manners of the people you are among, no one ever went with more juſt ideas previouſly acquired.—Nevertheleſs, every opening day will preſent new circumſtances and qualities to your attention, and the ſame will happen in the natural appearance of the country; and theſe contemplations will, I am perſuaded, for a while afford you more grateful amuſements in the hour of relaxation, than all the magnificent repaſts of Calcutta. When you have an hour's leiſure you will think of me, and give me ſome account of the literature you may diſcover.

diſcover. I ſadly want a hiſtory of Bahadar Schah *(z)*; and Kerr, in his account of the Morattoes, ſays there is ſuch a hiſtory.

"I muſt now aſk your pardon, and permiſſion to ſpeak on a matter which affects me to the very heart. The ſad fate of the ſhip Groſvenor will have reached India long before this letter. My nephew, Mr. Hoſea *(aa)*, his wife and child [a daughter], were among thoſe who got aſhore; and I have heard of them to the 10th day after the wreck; but beyond, to this hour, nothing. Capt. D'Auvergne, who arrived about two months ago from the Cape, ſays, there were accounts of more white people inland when he came away; but two ſhips, a Dane and a Frenchman, had been loſt on the ſame coaſt, and nearly on the ſame part of it, ſince the Groſvenor; ſo that I am almoſt without hope of his ſafety. I am one of his attorneys in England; and he has three children under our care, a boy and two girls, the eldeſt ten years old *(b b)*. Nobody knows any thing of any will of Mr. Hoſea being depoſited in England; but it is ſcarcely poſſible that he ſhould have left Bengal without making one, and leaving at leaſt a duplicate of it in India.

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"I requeſt my reſpects, although unknown, to lady Jones. Pardon the hand of an amanuenſis; my own troubles and my head pain me; for it is only a few days ſince I came down to my working-parlour, after a confinement of thirty in my bedchamber; and I am ſtill very infirm. May health and every other good always attend you, is the ſincereſt wiſh of,

Dear Sir, Your faithful and affectionate friend,

R. Orme."

In 1792 Mr. Orme left London, and retired to Ealing for the benefit of his health; where he reſided during the remainder of his life; continuing, nevertheleſs, to take a warm and lively intereſt not only in the concerns of his friends, but alſo in public affairs.

In the year 1793, we find the two following letters from Mr. Orme to general Richard Smith:

"Great Ealing, Saturday, Aug. 10, 1793.

"I was yeſterday prevented, by various calls to which I was obliged to pay attention, from having the quiet hour I always wiſh to have when I am writing to you.

"The

(z) See p. 308, and Military Tranſactions in Indoſtan, vol. i. p. 19, 20.

(a a) Mr. William Hoſea, nephew, and neareſt relative to Mr. Orme.

(b b) The ſon, William, died a few years ago at Bengal, in the ſervice of the Hon. the Eaſt India Company. One daughter is now married to lieut.-col. Sharpe, of his Majeſty's ſervice; and the other to John Betſworth Trevanion, Eſq.

"The French Hiſtories I have read, excluſive of Memoires, are, Daniel, Mezeray, and Henault.

"Mezeray wrote firſt; it is in three huge folios. The ſecond edition in folio has left out many paſſages which were in the firſt, which makes the firſt edition rare, and valued by book-fancyers. His ſtyle is ſtrong, and often ſharp. When he publiſhed his firſt volume (the 1ſt edition) it was ſaid, *Il n'y a pas un mot de trop, ni de trop peu.*

"Next comes Daniel, who was a Jeſuit, and a man labouring in more than one vineyard. In his hiſtory his ſtyle is dull, often prolix; a great bigot in his relation of the Religious Wars; but a genuine royaliſt, ſaving his reverence for the Pope. Daniel likewiſe wrote the *Milice Françoiſe*, which is an account of the French Military Array and Equipments from the earlieſt times. This work is done with much diligence and intelligence, therefore very curious; and it muſt have ſerved them much, whenever he gives an account of a campaign, to ſee clearly how things went on. The *Hiſtory* is 14 or perhaps 16 volumes in quarto. The *Milice* is only 2 volumes, and has cuts.

"Next comes the Preſident Henault, which I think I once ſent you, and conſequently you have read; but leſt perchance I be miſtaken, I ſhall juſt mention him. It is an Abridgment by years of the Hiſtory of France, from Pharamond (if there ever was ſuch a man) to the reign of Louis Quatorze. Henault was Preſident of one of the Parliaments of France; a man who united labour to genius. Voltaire, writing to him while drinking ſome of the mineral waters in Germany during a time of war, adviſed him to come back immediately to Paris, to avoid the *Huſſars*, "qui ne font boire que les eaux de Styx," and then, invoking the Muſe ſays,

"Ramene à ſes amis charmans,
Ramene à ſes belles demeures,
Ce bel eſprit de tous les temps,
Cet homme de toutes les heures."

"His ſtyle, although by the nature of his plan always conciſe, is always elegant, and the beſt French that I know; his knowledge of the hiſtory of France the reſult of immenſe inquiry. Not to you, for you know too much to require ſuch a proceſs, but I would adviſe any young gentleman, who had too much money to require any employment, and too much ſenſe to wiſh to live without ſome, to get the voluminous hiſtorians, read Henault, and refer to the others as he wiſhed for farther information or elucidation.

"What you wrote to me on the 6th, concerning your ſituation in regard to health, ſhocked me moſt extremely. However, it was ſome relief to hear that you looked much better, and more cheerful than before; and I have juſt now

received the further pleaſure of hearing that you had ſent for ſome books; which flatters me with the hopes that you think your ſpirits likely to be equal to them."

"Great Ealing, Aug. 13, 1793.

"I thank you kindly for the plan of Seringapatam, and ſhall preſerve it charily for the ſake of the author, to whom I tender my beſt reſpects. Miſs * * * * * need not be afraid of its being in other hands, as it is a ſketch which ſhews ſhe will draw very well.

"I have read major Dirom's book; it was lent me by Mr. Dalrymple; and I was much pleaſed with it, as containing curious, new, and authentic information. He gives the beſt reaſons that *can* be pleaded, why the ſiege of Seringapatam was not continued to the cataſtrophe of its capture. Nevertheleſs, from the beginning, and *ſtill*, I perſevere in the opinion, that the ſiege once begun, it ought to have been taken. *Delenda eſt Carthago*; and we ſhall ſoon, perhaps, ſee that his [Tippoo's] reſtleſs and wicked character will reduce us to the neceſſity of doing all we have done, and have left undone, again, and with more trouble. Another reaſon with me for his extermination was, Tippoo's cruelty and perfidy to his Engliſh captives. Surajah Dowlah was deſtroyed, and Coſſim Ally exterminated. The vengeance in ſuch caſes ought always to fall on the tyrant, as the firſt cauſe. Not but that I told lord Clive, that had I been of his council when he entered Muxadavad, I ſhould have moved to look out for and puniſh the *Jemautdars*, who held up their lights to mock the wretched ſufferers in the Black Hole. You ſee, therefore, that I agree with you in the ſupport you gave adminiſtration on the ſubject of our war with Tippoo.

"You are a much better judge than I can be of our war on the Continent, as knowing the art, and being acquainted with the ſcenes of operation, and its defences. Dunkirk certainly ſhould be taken, to ſerve as a marine place d'armes; but ſtill Calais, with a very ſtrong garriſon, would be the ſame to Dunkirk, as Dunkirk is now to Oſtend. I never knew, before you told me, that Calais could be fluiced. It muſt therefore remain, I am ſorry to think, impregnable. Pray do the ſluices to Calais depend on inlets under its command from the ſea? Lord Stairs uſed to ſay, that they who attacked France by Flanders took the bull by the horns. By Dumourier's account, the frontier of Lorraine and Champaign is as ſtrong by nature as the other has been made by art. How much do the preſent Convention owe to the magnificent ambition and prodigality, as ſome called it, of Louis the 14th, who left them ſuch a line of barrier as runs along Flanders. Liſle coſt the duke of Marlborough three months; yet Liſle muſt be taken; otherwiſe, on advancing into France, the allies might be incloſed behind by a net. So I ſee no end of the war, and am wearied with conjectures.

"I have been much ſurprized at the ſpirit with which the French have fought ſince

ſince the Revolution. What would old Lawrence *(cc)* ſay, were he alive? Nevertheleſs, their original character returned at the ſtorm of the Horn-work of Valenciennes. Under the ſhade of night, when no man could obſerve well the behaviour of another, they all agreed in quitting their poſts; or, in other words, running away: which ſhews a want of that real firmneſs, of which on all occaſions they are ſo fond of boaſting.

"When not employed on the neceſſary duties to myſelf and friends, much of my time is employed in contemplating the preſent Revolution in France, of which no events in the preceding hiſtory of that country could have ſuggeſted. Still leſs the extraordinary change, or apparent change, in the national character, from ſuch frivolity to atrocious barbarity. It is a great misfortune, that they are now civilized ſavages.

"In future time, this Commotion will produce the moſt curious and eventful hiſtory the world ever ſaw. You may judge, then, that I ſhall with great pleaſure read Mirabeau's letters.

"I thank you for the kind offer of Gibbon's ſecond and third Volumes, and will with great pleaſure keep them as a memorandum from you.

"God ſend you a continuance of amendment. The weather here is delicious; and I regret every hour that you cannot breathe it with me. I was on horſeback yeſterday evening two hours and a half, and earneſtly wiſh you could do ſo too."

The following letter to an intimate friend, toward the cloſe of the year 1794, will ſhow the ſentiments that Mr. Orme entertained reſpecting the political ſituation of Great Britain at that period:

"I owe you an account of the reaſons of my long ſilence ſince I received your letter of the 26th of laſt month, and why I have not come to town, although, when I wrote you laſt, I ſeemed ſo near it; of this I ſhall ſpeak firſt, as of the leſs importance.

"With

(cc) Major-general Stringer Lawrence; to whoſe Memory an elegant Monument is placed in Weſtminſter Abbey, with the following Inſcription written by Mr. Orme:

Erected by
The Eaſt India Company,
To the Memory of
Major-general Stringer Lawrence;
In Teſtimony of their Gratitude
For his Eminent Services
In the Command of their Forces
On the Coaſt of Coromandel,
From the Year MDCCXLVI. to the Year MDCCLXVI.

"With my fever, all the diſtreſsful circumſtances which accompanied it were almoſt removed; yet the fever left me much weakened; but fortunately came on, I know not from what cauſe, a ſucceſſion of better ſleep for fifteen nights, than I have known theſe ten years. I could not bring myſelf to break through this beſt of medical relief by coming into the rumble of Harley-ſtreet; and to this was added the opportunities I have had of riding, which have generally happened every other day; for the by-roads about this place are better than any near London, although the high road is perhaps the very worſt. My good ſleep was interrupted four or five nights, but it has returned for the laſt week; therefore I am not to be blamed for continuing here: ſuch neighbours as I am willing to be known to, are very civil to me; but as I am never out in the night air, (a caution moſt neceſſary to all invalids in the months of November and December,) I cannot be much with them. I find very pleaſant companions in my ſtudy, (my books,) to whom I can communicate my ideas with as much confidence as I do to you.

"Your letter of the 26th of November, combined with what little I picked up from papers and talk, gave me much matter of reflection; of which every reſult was ominous, none favourable: and I will confeſs to you, that my mind was gradually getting into a gloomineſs, irkſome and unpleaſant to the laſt degree; and therefore I determined to break through it, by applying myſelf to a literary purſuit, which ſhould keep me from being abſorbed in the politics of the day, of which every aſpect is diſmal. I knew, if I wrote my thoughts to you, you would have taken the trouble to have given me your's, which, from your ſituation, would have comprehended many points unknown to me; and I ſhould have laid a burden on you, which, however willingly taken up by you, I felt myſelf almoſt aſhamed to expect, as it would be a return of ten for one.

"The approaching ſeſſion of parliament will be more important than any this country ever knew. The queſtion is, whether we ſhall make peace or continue the war? and each of theſe propoſitions branch out into others that immediately ſpring from them: With whom ſhall we treat? the Convention! Can they be truſted? Will they make peace with any other view than to gain two or three years to raiſe a navy ſtronger than ours, and then begin with us again? What guarantees either of local powers or ſovereign ſtates will be granted to them, or undertaken by their neighbours? What are we to give to induce them (who certainly have the advantage ground at preſent) to make peace with us? They have got all Flanders, &c. and we have only their Weſt India iſlands, which it is moſt likely they think themſelves able to re-conquer from us.

"Suppoſing then that we are obliged to continue the war, in what mode and in what points are we to continue it? Is Flanders to be attacked again? I think our ſtrength quite inſufficient. The emperor muſt join us with at leaſt 120,000 men; Will, or can he? The other princes of the empire, will they do more than

hire out their men to us?—and then will they not do as the king of Pruſſia has done this year?

" If Holland will accept our ſupport, inſtead of fraternizing with the French, ſhe muſt by all means be ſupported by us. The alliance of Holland with France will be a great increaſe of naval force to the enemy.

" Should the French obtain Holland, they may probably attempt to invade us; but all that they can do, whilſt we can meet them at ſea in full ſtrength, will be to make deſcents on our remoteſt coaſts;—but even theſe will greatly affect our ſtocks.

" Theſe and many more points you will have to think on at the meeting of parliament. I am confident that *you* will judge right on all.

" I hope your health continues undiſturbed; my reſpects I wiſh to be acceptable to ———.

" Monday, 8th Dec. 1794."

In his retirement at Ealing, Mr. Orme was often viſited by his friends, who appear to have entertained a very warm affection for him; particularly Sir George Baker, Alexander Dalrymple, eſq. general Richard Smith, John Roberts, eſq. Mark Beaufoy, eſq. &c. &c. But, as he ſays himſelf in the letter laſt quoted, his books were his chief companions; and ſuch was the activity of his mind, that at the age of 70 he found in them a conſtant ſource of amuſement. A great many of his books bore intereſting evidence of the ſtrict attention with which he peruſed them; their margins, as we have before obſerved, being filled with obſervations in his own hand-writing.

In April 1796, having reſolved not to return to London, except in occaſional viſits, he diſpoſed of his houſe in Harley-ſtreet, and ſent the principal part of his library (having no convenient place for it in the country) to the hammer of Leigh and Sotheby, who found ample employment for a ten days' ſale. He had, however, previouſly made a ſelection of his books, which were removed to Ealing, and occupied his mind, whenever his health would permit, till the time of his death; for he retained all his faculties to the laſt moment of his exiſtence.

In the beginning of January 1801, he fell into a ſtate of weakneſs and languor that prognoſticated a ſpeedy diſſolution; and on the 13th of that month he expired, in the 73d year of his age. His remains were interred in a vault prepared for that purpoſe in the church-yard of

of Ealing; and ſoon after a neat marble cenotaph to his memory was erected in the church by his friend and executor, Mr. Roberts (late Chairman of the Eaſt India Company), with a ſuitable inſcription written by general Richard Smith *(dd)*.

Mr. Orme was ſomewhat above the middle ſtature, and his countenance expreſſed much ſhrewdneſs and intelligence. In his perſonal habits he ſeems not to have had any ſtriking peculiarities. His general manner was ſenſible, eaſy, and polite. Of the qualities of his heart, thoſe who knew him long and intimately ſpeak very highly. He was zealous in the ſervice of thoſe whom he really loved; but, as it was not his cuſtom to make profeſſions of friendſhip, his acts ſometimes ſurpaſſed expectation. His powers of converſation, as we have already ſhewn, were very conſiderable; and ſuch was the extent of his knowledge, the readineſs of his perceptions, and the facility of his expreſſion, that he generally illuſtrated in a pleaſing, often in a forcible manner, whatever ſubject he undertook. Ancient literature was one of his favourite topics; and he converſed on it with no common degree of learning and critical exactneſs, without any ſort of pedantry or affectation.

With reſpect to his intellectual character, it would appear, from his life as well as his writings, that the principal features were good ſenſe, ſagacity, and judgment. Theſe qualities were aſſiſted in their operation by an active ſpirit, a ſolicitous curioſity, and a cultivated taſte. A mind thus conſtituted, readily acquired that power of combining circumſtances in lucid order, and of relating them with compreſſive force, which diſtinguiſhes the writings of Mr. Orme. Few hiſtorians have connected the events of their ſtory with more perſpicuity, or related them with more conciſeneſs. If he be ſometimes minute, he is never redundant, and never tedious. Every incident is ſo diſtinctly ſtated and clearly arranged; every new nation, or individual, is introduced with ſo compendious an explanation; all the obſervations ariſe from the facts with ſo much propriety, and are in themſelves ſo forcible and juſt; and the general ſtyle has ſo much ſimplicity and terſeneſs, that every reader of diſcernment and taſte muſt feel a ſtrong intereſt in peruſing his hiſtory. It is not indeed

(dd) See an engraving of the Tablet, at the end of this Memoir.

illumined with philoſophical views of ſociety, or manners, or civil inſtitutions, or arts, or commerce; nor is it adorned with any fine delineations of character; but it is nevertheleſs a work of great merit, and muſt continue to hold a high place in the claſs of hiſtorical compoſitions.

How much the geography of the Peninſula of India is indebted to Mr. Orme's indefatigable zeal in the improvement of it, a reference to his maps will abundantly teſtify. Many hundred places are there laid down, which are not to be found in any other work printed ſo early as 1782, the date of his laſt publication, which will be a durable monument of his induſtrious cultivation of the ſcience; though it is true, that from the marches of the various Engliſh armies in the Decan ſince that period, the ſituations of ſome places have been more accurately aſcertained. If his health had permitted, he would, from the records of the Company, the *Britiſh* Muſeum, and other ſources, have greatly enlarged his "Hiſtorical Fragments," which he intended to have divided into three ſections; and made an invaluable work of the Hiſtory of India, from the time of Aurengzebe to the commencement of his Military Tranſactions in the year 1744. It is to be hoped, however, that ſome one will enter with the ſame zeal and ſpirit on the ſubject, upon his plan and method; toward the accompliſhment of which Mr. Orme's MSS. and other Oriental documents collecting in the India houſe, will furniſh them with abundant information.

Moſt of the places laid down in Mr. Orme's various maps were from original MSS. drawn from the marches of the different armies; he being intimately acquainted with the generals, not only in the Engliſh, but in the French intereſts, when the peace rendered ſuch an intimacy with the latter deſirable and proper. In 1773, as we have before obſerved, he made a journey to Paris, expreſsly for the purpoſe of gaining information of this kind; but eſpecially to aſcertain the ſituations of places in the northern parts of the Decan, wherein the French armies had long ſerved under the celebrated count Buſſy. Mr. Orme's reception by that able commander, was worthy of ſo great a general, and of ſo enlightened a writer. The map of the various marches of M. Buſſy in the northern provinces, about Golcondah,

Aurengabad,

Aurengabad, &c. inſerted at page 3 of this volume, was made from a copy communicated to our author by M. Buſſy, with the particulars of other military and political tranſactions during his command in India.

Mr. Orme alſo took particular pains to aſcertain the ſituations of the different inland Marts of the early traffic of the Britiſh factors dependant on Surat, which are moſtly laid down from the records of the Company; as Carwar, Hubely, Gocuck, Calberga, Malkar, Guduck, Huttary, Drongom, Chupra, Panwell, and many others.

At the time of the publication of his "Fragments," Mr. Orme had projected an Atlas of the Peninſula of India, to conſiſt of about ten or twelve ſheets, of which the two maps inſerted in this volume were to have formed a part; but the great improvements then reſulting from major Rennel's Survey of Bengal, and the marches of the Britiſh armies in India, prevented his proceeding in ſo arduous an undertaking.

Mr. Orme poſſeſſed a very correct taſte for Painting and Sculpture; an admirable picture in his poſſeſſion, of the dreadful ſtorm off Pondicherry, during colonel Coote's *(ee)* celebrated blockade of that fortreſs in the year 1761, ſo pathetically deſcribed by our author in the

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(ee) On the death of this gallant Commander a Monument was erected to his Memory in Weſtminſter Abbey, on which is the following Inſcription, compoſed by Mr. Orme:

This Monument is Erected by
The Eaſt India Company,
as a Memorial of the Military Talents of
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.
Commander in Chief of the Britiſh Forces in India
who
By the ſucceſs of his Arms, in the years M,DCC,LX and M,DCC,LXI,
Expelled the French from the Coaſt of Coromandel.
In M,DCC,LXXXI and M,DCC,LXXXII
He again took the Field in the Carnatic,
In oppoſition to the united Strength of the French and Hyder Ally;
And, in ſeveral Engagements, defeated the numerous Forces of the latter.
But Death interrupted his career of glory
On the XXVIIth day of April M,DCC,LXXXIII,
In the Fifty-eighth year of his Age.

the ſecond volume of his Hiſtory, was principally deſigned by himſelf and the celebrated Athenian Stuart, and painted by Wilkins, from a ſmall ſketch made on the ſpot by major Rennel, and is conſidered by artiſts as an excellent production (fff). It is well known, that Sir Joſhua Reynolds condeſcended to receive hints from Mr. Orme of ſome of his moſt delicate and beautiful touches, both in figures and drapery. For many years after the eſtabliſhment of the Royal Academy, he was a regular attendant on the exhibitions, and often expreſſed the gratification of his feelings on contemplating the progreſs of the fine arts in England.

He was alſo exceedingly fond of Muſic, of which he was an excellent judge; this led him to be a frequent attendant at the Opera; but he was more eſpecially attached to the ſublime compoſitions of the immortal Handel.

That he was a Poet alſo of ſome talent, the few following ſpecimens may atteſt; being haſty effuſions, made without effort, and never deſigned by their author to face the public eye; except, perhaps, the *Addreſs to the Moon* (p. lxi.) which was ſet to Muſic, and greatly admired.

March 1745-6.

O D E.

The Hint taken from HORACE, B. 1. O. 8. Lydia, dic per Omnes.

I.

WHY quits the ſanguine Youth the jovial chace?
Why thunders not his chariot at the race?
Why is no more the nervous wreſtler crown'd?
Why tempts he not the ſprightly courſer's bound?

II.

Once the fond plain none his ſuperior knew,
To dart the lance or bend the twanging yew;
None in the courſe outſtripp'd his headlong ſpeed,
None urg'd with bolder art the rapid ſteed.

The

(fff) This picture was given by Mr. Orme to the publiſher of the preſent volume.

III.

The taſte of every manly ſport is o'er;
And every wonted joy, is joy no more;
The change his comrades ſee with ſad ſurprize;—
His comrades never ſaw the heaven of ——'s eyes.

Verſes to the Memory of my BROTHER.

THE emblem of his ſoul, a pleaſing form,
Of manners mild, as of affections warm:
A bolder ſpirit and a gentler mind,
To frame the happieſt temper, ne'er were join'd.
Grave without pride, ſedate but not auſtere,
Whoſe word was always to his thought ſincere;
Whoſe nice ideas vice could ne'er deprave,
Whoſe wiſdom, virtue, honour, morals gave:
Who knew, with eaſe, the gen'rous choice of friend
With the fond brother's native tie to blend.
The ſilent gaze, the big tear-ſullied eye,
The boſom burſting to ſuppreſs it's ſigh,
Or ſadder ſigns of melancholy woe,
To meaner ſorrows may relief beſtow:
Mine on the dear remembrance ever lives,
The cauſe alone the conſolation gives.
Let me in raviſh'd fancy ſtill enjoy
The fond ideas of my vaniſh'd joy.
Tir'd of the buſy buſtle of the day,
And thoſe purſuits which ſnatch the man away;
In you alone a calm my cares could find;
You ſooth'd each ruffling tumult of the mind,
Lull'd vain ambition dawning in my ſoul,
Or taught its meaneſt motions to controul;
Deaf to my call if Fortune turn'd away,
Or ſmil'd returning with more gladſome ray,
Your ſteady mind, which no extremes could move,
Each ſtrain'd emotion fail'd not to reprove;
'Twas you firſt bid me dare to think with eaſe,
And taught reflection's glare the means to pleaſe;
You gave at once a labour'd life's whole bent,
And ſhow'd that all its bliſs was but content;

Or if you gaily wore the cheerful brow,
And bid Imagination warmly glow
With liveliest beam while bright'ning Fancy shone,
Undazzled Judgment still preserv'd her throne.
No partial scandal sooth'd ill-natur'd pride,
Nor envy scoff'd the bliss she not enjoy'd.
At rising follies Wit unerring flew,
The world supplied us follies ever new.
Thought, stop thy wing, nor trace the dismal hour
That bid such virtues be on earth no more.
Long-ling'ring Death his arm suspended held,
And thy indifference with amaze beheld;
Each horror wore that cou'd inspire a dread,
You smil'd and gently bow'd the willing head,
Sunk like a lily drooping to the rain,
With brighter beauties to revive again.
So when amidst a herd of youthful steers,
One proudly tow'ring o'er the rest appears,
His aweful front with sacred fillets bound
By virgins fair with flowing honours crown'd,
He stalks majestic thro' his native field,
His humbler fellows the precedence yield;
Ah! what avails to know he far exceeds
Each sullen rival in the neighbouring meads?
For him alone the burning altars wait,
His hapless beauties but insure his fate;
His hapless beauties doom him, from the crowd,
Alone a victim worthy of a god.
If spirits pure may cast their eyes below,
And bliss eternal can a respite know,
Vouchsafe to hear a suppliant brother's prayer:
Make him in heaven, as once on earth, thy care;
Oh! let thy influence brighten all his way,
On every virtue beam th' enlight'ning ray;
With gentle hand sustain his fault'ring soul,
Teach when its powers to urge, and when controul;
Of every passion lull the impetuous gale,
Let moderation softly swell the sail,
While steady reason holds the certain helm:
Storms may tumultuous rise, but let them not o'erwhelm;
Then give me, landed from life's varied sea,
T' enjoy at once thy God, thy Heaven, and Thee.

A CHARACTER.

An Angel's face, a killing form,
Sure, without will, each heart to warm;
A ſenſe, that ſoftneſs ſeldom knows;
A wit, that unaffected glows:
Say, is not this a finiſh'd piece,
Or can ſuch charms ſtill want a grace?

Fond Nature, ſtriving not to err,
Gave every ſtroke too fierce a glare;
Perfection aſks a ſofter touch,
And had been hit, if not ſo much;
Amaz'd the wond'rous draught we ſee,
The ſoul is from emotion free.

Then, hapleſs Strephon, let me mourn
Thy love, that never can return;
Ah! what avails thy ſprightly ſenſe,
Thy wit, thy eaſy eloquence;
Thy happy mind, thy gentle form,
The generous ſoul, as juſt as warm?

In vain her paſſion thou would'ſt move,
For Chloe's ſoul can but approve;
And gives with reaſon's juſter eye
Eſteem, which envy can't deny.
The wax which now thy billet ſeals,
Infinite thy fate reveals:

That ne'er impreſſive ſoftneſs knows,
But when in ardent flame it glows;
The ſtamp which then you fail to uſe,
The hard'ning ſubſtance will refuſe.

LINES, written Auguſt 1749.

The Muſe no more with rapture ſmiles,
Nor gives the tranſport that each care beguiles;
She ſees averſe her vot'ry prove
The wretched ſubject of all-pow'rful love.

" Adore,

" Adore, with cruel zeſt, ſhe cries,
" Thy wanton god of tortures, pangs, and ſighs;
" But ever loſe the hour of eaſe,
" Which I alone could ever teach to pleaſe."
Vain is advice, experience vain,
The willing ſlave is curs'd without his chain.
Almoſt two twelvemonths now are paſt,
Since Lydia rul'd, the tyrant of my breaſt.
The joke of friends, the ſneer of foes,
Perplex'd, not cur'd, my fondly nouriſh'd woes.
The ſilent gaze, the languid eye,
Fetch'd from my inmoſt heart the heaving ſigh,
Betray'd diſſimulation's mien,
And all the lover, all the wretch was ſeen;
But when the heart-expanding bowl
Pour'd forth each cautious ſecret of my ſoul,
To you my beſt and beſt-lov'd friend,
Fond my ſick heart as well as health to mend,
I wept the melancholy tale,
Nor bluſh'd unmanly ſorrows to reveal;
This tyrant paſſion lords alone,
And bears no rival near his cruel throne;
Elſe rage for undeſerv'd diſdain,
For all the ſtudy'd triumphs o'er my pain,
Or ſcorn to ſee unequal worth,
The affluent dulneſs of ſome ſon of earth,
Preferr'd to ſpirit, parts, and ſenſe,
If riches fail to gild the fair pretence,
Long ſince had made me quit the field,
And to my meaner rivals proudly yield.
While thus I talk'd with brow ſevere,
You fondly, anxious to retrieve each care,
Advis'd long abſence for my cure,
And urg'd the means its anguiſh to endure;
But all that reaſon could ſuggeſt
Was loſt amidſt the tumults of my breaſt:
I ſtill dragg'd on th' alternate chain
Of Love, Diſlike, of Paſſion, and Diſdain.
Now Chloe reigns without controul,
The charming miſtreſs of my ſoul,

Gentler

Gentler than all her ſex her air,
But not more gentle than divinely fair:
Away Advice with ſerious brow,
And Ridicule with ſelf-conceited glow;
In vain you check my Chloe's ſway,
She's form'd to reign, as I am to obey.

September 1749.

HINT taken from HORACE. Bk ii. Od. 8.

Ulla ſi Juris tibi pejerati.

If for the perjur'd faith and broken vow,
Thy blooming cheek had loſt its lovely glow;
If for the gods, ſo oft invok'd and ſcorn'd,
Thy ſick'ning eye its lively luſtre mourn'd;
I might perhaps believe the guileful tale,
And each falſe tear might to thy wiſh prevail.
But while the partial gods protect that form,
In ſpight of all their wrongs, from ev'ry harm;
Nay, bid thy guilty beauties brighter ſhine,
And each offending charm be more divine;
Amaz'd, the aweful hand of Heav'n I ſee,
And own its worſt of peſts confirm'd in Thee.
"Venus, you ſay, and Cupid, are your friends,
'Tis they direct, and you but work their ends."
True; for I ſee the boy, with cruel ſmile,
Urge all thy arts and temper every wile,
His angry heart beats for th' expected hour
Of deſtin'd vengeance for his injur'd pow'r,
Tho' now each anxious mother ſadly fear,
Her only hopes ſhou'd catch th' infectious air,
Tho' now the weeping bride in ſilence mourn,
The ſigh unable to oblige return;
Whilſt, by thy wiles allur'd, the headlong youth
Quits for thy charms the charms of worth and truth;
Yet e'er thoſe charms to wrinkled age ſhall bend,
Thy every pleaſure in diſeaſe ſhall end;
Whate'er they feel who ſacred love profane
Shall heighten'd rage in every guilty vein.

This vengeance injur'd Venus ſhall prepare,
To ſhow that love, not luſt, can claim her care;
Then from thy cheek ſhall fade the lively bloom,
Nor more thy eye its ſparkling life aſſume;
In vain thy wiles ſhall plot the happy hour,
While loathing lovers ſhun thy dang'rous door;
No ſimple youth ſhall heed the guileful tale,
And each increaſing wiſh no more avail.

THE TRAIN OF VENUS.

Goddess of Paphos and the Leſbian Iſle,
Queen of the blooming cheek and dimpled ſmile,
Oh! deign for once to let thy Cyprus mourn,
While thouſand altars blaze for thy return;
'Tis Lydia calls, Oh! hear her raptur'd vow,
And bid her incenſe with thy influence glow.

She comes, and ſmiling leads the fervent boy,
Who gives to gods and mortals all their joy;
With zones unloos'd the Graces next appear,
Their blooming forms ne'er breath'd ſo ſoft an air;
The Nymphs around in decent meaſures move,
But move regardful of the Queen of Love.

See ſprightly Youth, of blooming years too vain,
Exulting ſtep the foremoſt of the train;
She leads a Nymph known by the ſiſter's mien,
Health, conſcious favourite of the gentle Queen;
The ſmiles of Venus all their movements crown,
She gives the grace, the beauty all her own.

But ſee aloof a Youth of form divine,
Lively his look, but threat'ning ſly deſign;
Thro' all th' affected caution of his brow,
Aſſur'd ſucceſs betrays its conſcious glow;
Him ſhun, ye Nymphs, beware his gentle ſmiles,
His wreathed arts, inſinuating wiles,
His ſoft addreſs, his too perſuaſive ſenſe,
Confeſs the dang'rous god of Eloquence.

ADDRESS TO THE MOON.

Written on the Terrace at Madras, 1757.

STAY, ſilver Moon, nor haſten down the ſkies,
I ſeek the bow'r where lovely Chloe lies;
No midnight ſelon aſks thy trembling ray
To guide his footſteps to the dang'rous prey;
No murderer, lurking for his hated foe,
Aſks thy pale light to guide the vengeful blow;
The breaſt with love poſſeſt no furies move,
No violence arms the gentle hand of love;
I meditate no theft; the willing fair
Shall yield her beauties to my well-fraught prayer:
Stay, ſilver Moon, nor haſten down the ſkies,
I ſeek the bow'r where lovely Chloe lies.

*** A collection of manuſcript poems, written by our Author, and corrected on a ſubſequent reviſion, is known to exiſt; which, probably, he may have lent to ſome friend. If the poſſeſſor of it would have the goodneſs to ſend it to the publiſher of this volume, that copies may be taken for the uſe of any future edition, it would be eſteemed a great favour.—It is a ſmall volume in octavo, bound in Morocco leather.

Mr. Orme likewiſe wrote, at Madras, a poem on the death of his friend Admiral Watſon, 15th Auguſt 1757. It was penned on a blank leaf in one of his printed books, which, probably, was ſold when his library was diſpoſed of, in 1796. If the purchaſer of ſuch volume would permit a copy to be taken, the publiſher would be greatly obliged to him.

Among

Among Mr. Orme's papers was found the commencement of a profe tranſlation of Homer's Iliad; but whether he ever had it in contemplation to complete ſuch a verſion, we do not learn. He records, that he began to read Poetry in the year 1742; that it was his chief amuſement; and that he remembered more of that, than of any other kind of reading, till the year 1754. Even the dates of his courſe of reading, he was attentive enough to regiſter; thus:

Pope's Homer, Iliad, and Odyſſey. 1742.
Dryden's Virgil. 1742.
Horace in Lat. with the Notes of D'Acier and Sanadon. This with attention. 1743.
Petronius in Lat. with the Tranſlation of Nodot. Theſe two books, I remember, fixed what knowledge I have of the Latin Tongue; and at the ſame time applied me to the French.
Virgil. Lat. with attention, and repeated ſince. 1743. 1753.
Livy. Lat. 1745. attentively.
Catullus. Lat. 1746.
Rhetoric, to Herrenius. Lat. 1751. with attention.
Suetonius. Lat. 1751.
Congreve's Plays
Prior.
Shakeſpear's Plays
Vanburgh's ditto
Farquhar's ditto
} from 1742 to 1750.
Milton's Paradiſe Loſt: (never the Regain'd.) 1749.
Tatler, Spectator, Guardian, by piece-meal; and not completed to this day.
The Agoniſtes of Milton, three times. 1749, 1750, 1751.
Gordon's Tacitus; which I have moſtly forgotten, except the hardneſs of the ſtyle. 1744.
Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 1743; of which I do not remember a word.
Pope's Works, 1752.
Swift's Works, 1752.
Patriot King, twice. 1750, 1752.
Orrery's Life of Swift. 1752. in one day.
Clarendon's Hiſtory. 1745. of which I remember little.
Eſprit des Loix. Fr. attentively. 1752.
Perſian Letters. Fr. 1747. attentively.

Wharton's

Wharton's True Briton. 1753.
Revolutions of Rome. Vertot. 1745. forgotten.
Middleton's Life of Cicero. 1746. forgotten.
Grandeur des Romains. 1747. Fr. Monteſquieu.
Rollin's Roman Hiſtory, continued by Crevier; which I have forgotten, 1753.
Daniel's Hiſtory of France, abridged: in haſte, and forgotten. 1753.
Juvenal. Lat. 1748.
Turkiſh Spy. 1750. as nonſenſe.
Cæſar's Commentaries. Lat. 1748.

I arrived at Madras (ſays he) September 14, 1754; from which time, to the 31ſt December 1756, I have read:

Quintilian. Lat.
Herodotus. Eng.———Littlebury.
Thucydides. Eng.———Smith.
Xenophon's Greek Hiſtory. Fr. Ablancourt.
———— Cyropædia. Fr. Charpentier.
———— Hiero. Fr. De Coſte.
———— Retreat of the Ten Thouſand. Fr. Ablancourt.
———— Memorabilia. Fr. Charpentier.
———— Life. Fr. Charpentier.
Diodorus Siculus. Fr. Terraſſon.
Juſtin. Lat.
Quintus Curtius. Lat.
Arrian's Hiſtory of Alexander. Eng. Rooke.
Theatre des Grecs. Fr. Brumoy.
Ariſtotle's Poetic. Fr. Dacier.
Orations of Demoſthenes. Fr. Tourreil, with the preface. A uſeful work.
Polybius, tranſlated by Thuiller; and the Commentary of the Chevalier Folard. Fr.
Nouvelles Decouvertes ſur la Guerre. Fr. Chevalier Folard; with the Criticiſm of his Syſtem in the Sentimens d'un Homme de Guerre, &c. and the Defence, by Folard.
Hiſtoire Univerſelle; the two firſt volumes corrupted; the third, acknowledged by Voltaire. Fr.
Guerre, de. 1741. Fr. imputed to Voltaire.
Orphelin de La Chine, Tragedy. Fr. Voltaire.
Pucelle d'Orleans. Fr. a whimſical Poem.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Greek Lives, only. Fr. D'Acier.
Theorie de Sentimens Agreables. Fr. Anonyme.
Mahomet's Life. Eng. Prideaux: with a fooliſh Diſſertation.
Diogenes Laertius. Lat. Longolius.
Memoires de Guay Trouenne. Fr.
Memoires de Puyſegur. Fr. but not his Reflections ſur la Guerre. Father to the Mareſchal.
Reflections on Learning. Eng. Baker; in one day.
Cornelius Nepos. Lat.
Vindication of Bolingbroke and the Diatribe, in one pamphlet; two excellent pieces: ſuppoſed by Voltaire.
Life of Genghiſcan. Eng. from the French.
Hiſtory of the Tartars. Eng. from the French; a jumbled piece of work; I only read the firſt volume.
Micromegas. Fr. Voltaire.
Reflections on the Hiſtory of England. Bolingbroke; with the attention that ſo noble a work deſerves.

All of the beforementioned Books that merited it, I have read with attention, having had regard to Geography, Chronology, and Diction.

He does not ſeem to have continued the record of his courſe of reading beyond the year 1756; or, if he did, the memoranda have been loſt.

Our Author was ſingularly happy in the compoſition of monumental Inſcriptions; of which he wrote very many, for his friends, on various occaſions.

Mr. Orme, at the time of his death, held the office of Hiſtoriographer to the Eaſt India Company; and that he was not an idle or unprofitable ſervant, his very numerous MSS. ſufficiently teſtify. (*gg*)

Many

(*gg*) Theſe he committed to the care of his friend and executor John Roberts, Eſq. late Chairman of the Court of Directors, with ſeveral maps, a part of his printed books, and a variety of other valuable hiſtorical materials, to be by him preſented to the Honourable Eaſt India Company. This truſt was faithfully executed, and they are now depoſited in the library at the India Houſe.—They conſiſt of one hundred and ninety tracts printed in FIFTY-ONE VOLUMES, on the ſubject of India, and the Honourable Company's affairs, from about the year 1753 down to the year 1788.

Two

Many of theſe were of recent compoſition; in fact, he continued to make extracts from very intereſting materials till within a ſhort period of his death; and the Company, as well as the Public at large, will hereafter be greatly benefited by them, if any of Mr. Orme's ſucceſſors in office ſhall with ſpirit purſue the path that has been pointed out by him, who has frequently been denominated the Britiſh Thucydides, and certainly may with great truth be called the Father of Oriental Hiſtory.

His ſmall work here reprinted, called "Hiſtorical Fragments," on which he prided himſelf even more than on his voluminous writings, coſt him infinite labour. It is well known, that he read over many huge volumes of the Company's records to collect a very few facts, and ſometimes merely to aſcertain a date, or fix the ſituation of a place; it need ſcarcely be remarked, therefore, that its contents, ſo elaborately collected, are of great value. A reference to his Authorities, printed at the end of this volume, will give the reader ſome idea of the laborioufneſs of the taſk, when it is conſidered that he found all thoſe references neceſſary to the accurate compilation of only 410 ſmall pages in octavo.

We may therefore, with ſtrict propriety, conſider him as having been an old and faithful ſervant, as well as a liberal benefactor, to the honourable Eaſt India Company; and we venture to predict, that the reſiſtleſs ſcythe of Time will have cut deep into poſterity, before an Hiſtoriographer will be found to employ more induſtry, perſeverance, and

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Two Hundred and Thirty-one Volumes, in manuſcript of various ſizes, chiefly bound in vellum, containing a vaſt body of information upon the ſubject of India, with many uſeful Indexes.

Several Bundles of Letters, chiefly from Madras and Bombay, upon the ſubject of the Company's tranſactions in India.

Thirty-five large Volumes in folio and quarto, containing maps, plans, and views in the Peninſula of India, principally by the Chief Engineer, and given to Mr. Orme by the ſeveral Engliſh Commanders in India.

Four large Port Folios, containing maps, plans, views, &c.

Twenty Rolls, containing ſundry maps, plans, &c.

A Buſt of Mr. Orme, executed by Mr. Nollekens.

Six Figures in braſs, repreſenting ſome of the principal emblems of the divine attributes, according to the mythology of the Hindus,

and learning, to illuſtrate the Hiſtory and Commerce of the Eaſt, than we have ſhown to have been employed by our Author. The circumſtances that he has recorded will ſerve as examples to future ages; but, more eſpecially, the noble acts of humanity which the Britiſh conquerors have exerciſed among the poor and oppreſſed Indians, will ever ſhine with the brighteſt luſtre.

Our liberality in victorious war, and the mild principles of conduct which are dictated by our equal ſyſtem of laws, have exhibited a ſtriking contraſt to the arbitrary and imperious proceedings of Aſiatic deſpots; and this object is ſtill more effectually promoted by the eſtabliſhment of independent Courts of Judicature, now introduced into the different parts of the Britiſh dominions in India, for the purpoſe of reſtricting all unauthorized acts of power in the ſervants and dependants of the Government, without infringing the inoffenſive cuſtoms, religious or domeſtic, of the natives; by which juſtice is adminiſtered to all ranks of people in a manner that will tend to raiſe that numerous, though feeble and ſubmiſſive race, to a rank in human exiſtence worthy of the Britiſh name.

It may ſafely be aſſerted, that the natives of India now enjoy a protection for their lives, property, and induſtry, which had heretofore been either unknown or precarious among them, as numerous examples in our Author's writings affectingly evince. Nor is this all; for the extenſion of the Britiſh dominion in India opens to the learned world an amazing fund of knowledge, which had lain buried in oblivion on the banks of the Ganges from the earlieſt times.

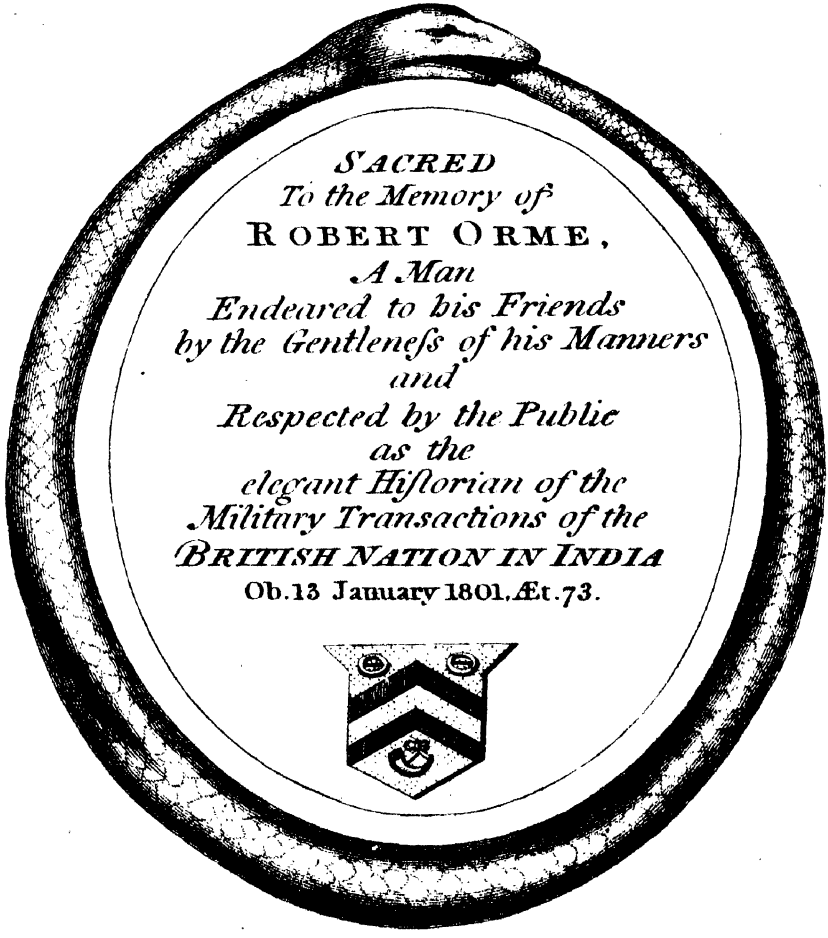
The ſucceſsful induſtry of a few gentlemen, in the moſt difficult and laborious parts of Eaſtern learning, particularly in the ſtudy of the Sanſcrit language; the eſtabliſhment of an Oriental Library and Muſeum at the Eaſt India Houſe; the formation of the Aſiatic Society at Calcutta for the promotion of reſearches into the hiſtory, languages, and antiquities of Eaſtern nations; and, finally, the inſtitution of a College in this country for the inſtruction of young gentlemen intended for the Civil Service of the Eaſt India Company abroad, promiſe to be of important ſervice to mankind in general, but to this country in particular, and will mark the commencement of the 19th century as a grand epocha in the republic of letters.

Though

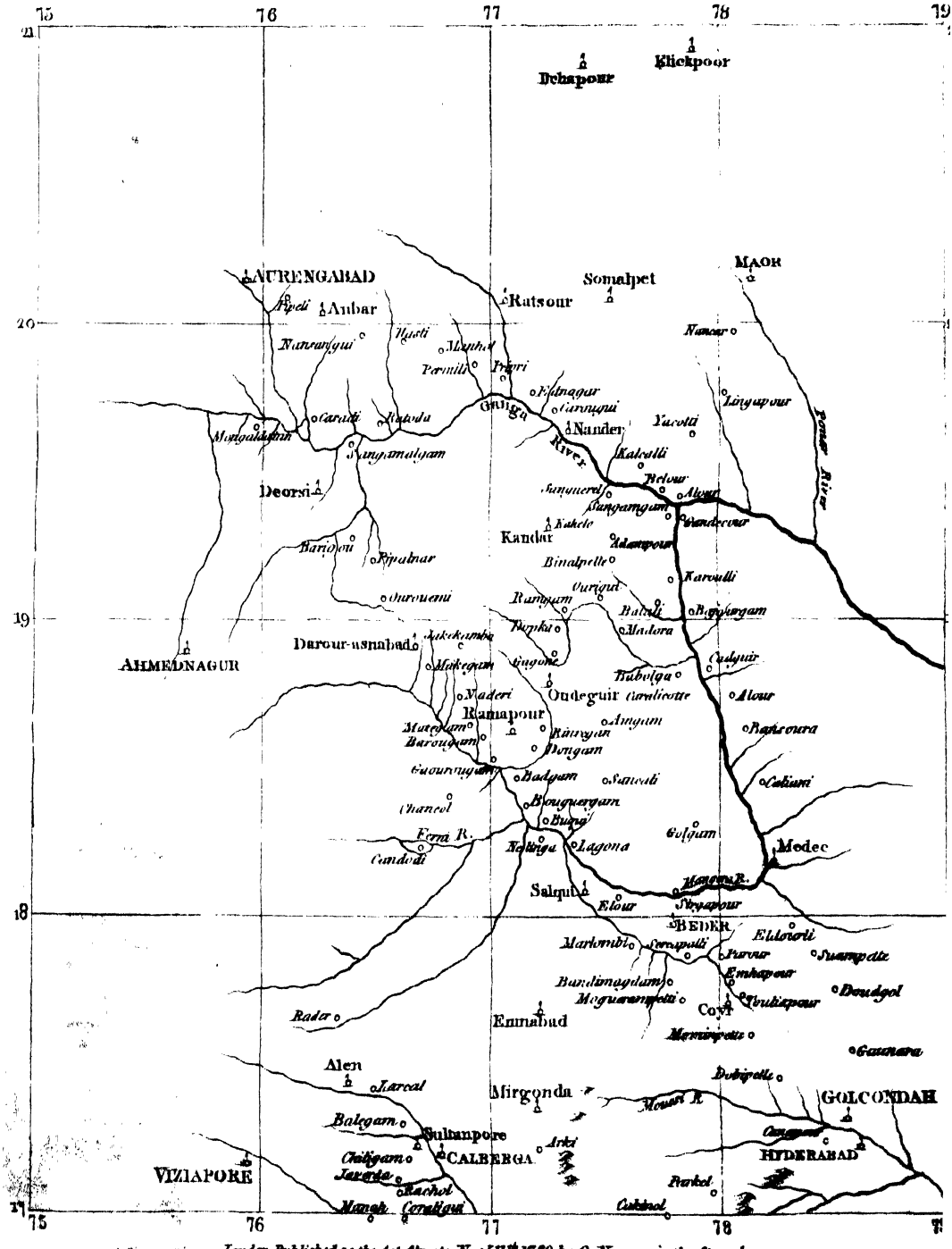
Though our Author was not profoundly verſed in the learned languages of the country; yet his active ſpirit of inquiry, and ſagacious obſervation, had no ſmall ſhare in recommending eſtabliſhments of ſuch ſingular national benefit.

To conclude:—Never had liberal and honourable Maſters a more zealous, faithful, or diſintereſted ſervant, nor the Country a more firm friend, than the late ingenious and amiable ROBERT ORME.

London,
July 10, 1805.



According to M.r BUSSYS. Marches.



London, Published as the Act directs, Nov.r 11.th 1782, by C. Nourse in the Strand.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS,

&c.

The NOTES are placed at the end of the Volume.

SECT. I.

WE have already publiſhed ſome portion of the military tranſactions of the Britiſh Nation in INDOSTAN, from the year 1744. In that publication the affairs of BENGAL are brought down to the month of September 1758, when the preſidency of Calcutta detached a conſiderable part of their force to attack the French poſſeſſions in the Northern provinces of Coromandel. Very ſoon after the departure of this armament, the province of BEHAR dependent on Bengal was invaded by the SHAH ZADA, which title may be interpreted, the acknowledged heir of the Mogul Empire: who ſome months before had made his eſcape from Delhi, where his father had been dethroned, and was kept in cloſe confinement by the Vizir. After a variety of diſtreſſes, the prince had collected a body of troops, which, with his own name, and ſup-

SECT. I. poſed averſions againſt the government of Jaffier, he thought ſufficient to reduce the city of Patna. From this poſſeſſion he expected to acquire the means of re-eſtabliſhing his father's, or at leaſt his own authority, at Delhi.

The degradation to which the ſovereignty of the Moguls was at this time reduced, in every province of their dominion, proceeded from evils which had been increaſing ever ſince the death of AURENGZEBE, and cannot be developed without a general view of his reign, as well as the reign of his ſucceſſors. This period comprizes one hundred years. The events, if we had acquired the knowledge of them in time, would have formed a proper introduction to the later portion of hiſtory, which we have already publiſhed: and the narrative they require is too extenſive to find place as an inſertion in the continuation of that work. We therefore give it apart, and only *Note 1.* in the character of FRAGMENTS, which the want of more materials diſables us from diſpoſing into a more regular form.

AURENGZEBE dated the commencement of his reign from 1659. the 12th of May 1659. His father, Shah Jehan, died after ſeven years confinement in the caſtle of Agra, on the 21ſt of *n.* 2. January 1666. The enquiries of Europeans have not hitherto procured any hiſtory of Aurengzebe compoſed by a native of Indoſtan, which extends beyond the 13th year of his reign, *n.* 3. anſwering to 1671 of our æra. Mr. Frazer, who was at Surat *n.* 4. in 1740, ſays that he forbad his life to be written; Catrou ſays quite the contrary; but that he preſcribed the mode.

Accordingly,

SECT. I.

Accordingly, the ALUMGUIRNAMA, which comprizes the firſt ten years of his reign, was compoſed under his immediate inſpection, and is a ſhameleſs apology for the depoſal and impriſonment of his father, and the deſtruction of his three brothers, with ſix of their ſons; whoſe removal cleared his way to the throne. But ſhould there be no conſecutive hiſtory of the ſubſequent part of his reign, different portions of it will probably be found in the annals of the provinces he ravaged, and of the princes he ſubdued. n. 5.

The empire, at the death of Shah Jehan, extended from CABUL to the NERBEDDAH, weſtward of this river to the INDUS, and to the eaſtward comprehended BENGAL and ORIXA. And to the ſouth of the Nerbeddah which bounds the Decan, the Moguls had reduced the countries dependent on BRAMPORE, AURENGABAD, AHMEDNAGUR, and BEDER, which had been connected into one government; this territory was bounded on the eaſt by BERAR, weſtward by the hills towards CONCAN; and by the dominions of GOLCONDAH and VIZIAPORE to the ſouth.

Aurengzebe held this government of the Decan under his father, and acquired in it the means of dethroning him. Even at that time, his capacious mind had determined to annex all the unconquered countries of the peninſula to the empire; and it is probable that he would have proſecuted this enterprize in perſon, as ſoon as releaſed from the anxiety of his father's life, whoſe death is imputed to him, if wars and inſurrections had not demanded his preſence in the northern parts of his dominions. In the meantime a power was riſing n. 6.

SECT. I.

in the Decan to reſiſt the onſet, and, after various viciſſitudes, to retaliate on his ſucceſſors the injuries of his ſword.

SEVAGI was the founder of the preſent nation of Morattoes. He drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore, who boaſt their deſcent from Porus, and are eſteemed the moſt ancient eſtabliſhment of Hindoo princes, and the nobleſt of the Rajpoot tribes*.

n. 7.

n. 8.

The father of Sevagi, with his three ſons, had employment under the King of Viziapore. Sevagi, aſſuming on the merit of ſeveral military ſucceſſes, and on the conſciouſneſs of his talents, gave ſuſpicions to the miniſters, of which he prevented the effects by retiring with the troops of his own command to the mountains of the ſea coaſt, in which he got poſſeſſion, without reſiſtance, of ſeveral ſtrong forts. The ſecurity of theſe retreats, and the connections he contrived to maintain in the army of Viziapore, brought ſeveral bodies of troops to his ſervice; and the reputation of his lineage, and abilities, induced many of the Rajpoots of his own tribe, to devote themſelves to his fortunes; and the more, becauſe he was in hoſtility with a Mahomedan power, againſt whom they are always fond of fighting. The plunder of the champaign country was the means of ſubſiſtence. The King of Viziapore ſent a conſiderable

* The deſcent of the Chitore Rajahs from Porus, although aſſerted by European travellers, does not ſeem to be eſtabliſhed by Indian writers. In the hiſtory deſcribed in p. xliii of the LIFE, and compiled by a Hindoo, they are ſtated to have been eſtabliſhed from 30 generations, and to have poſſeſſed a revenue of 10 millions ſterling. But even that, at the ordinary computation, would not bring them within 800 years of the age of Alexander (350 years A. C.). Porus, who was conquered by Alexander, is by the ſame hiſtorian ſtiled Rajah P'hool, Sovereign of Canoge, and is called Phoor in the hiſtorical poem of the Shâh-nâmeh. We draw the ſubſtance of this note from a paper communicated to Mr. Orme by Sir Charles Rouſe Boughton, bart.

force

SEVAGI.

force againſt him, of which he ſeduced the commander Abdul to a conference, by profeſſions of ſubmiſſion, and ſtabbed him with his own hand; it is ſaid, by a device, which, if practicable, could not be ſuſpected; on which an ambuſcade cut down all the retinue, except the general's ſon, who eſcaped back to the camp, which immediately broke up and diſperſed. SECT. I. n. 9.

Aurengzebe commanded at this time in the Decan, and was meditating his ambitious return to Delhi; he had broken the force of Golcondah, but Viziapore ſtill remained formidable, and would become much more ſo after the departure of the beſt troops and generals, whom he intended to take with him. His ſagacity ſaw a ſubſtitute in the enterpriſing ſpirit of Sevagi; whom he congratulated on his victory over Abdul, exhorted him to perſevere, gave him two or three forts, which opened into Viziapore: but not foreſeeing the extent of the conceſſion, or confident of retrieving it, promiſed that he ſhould hold, exempt from tribute to the Mogul, whatſoever territories he might conquer belonging to that kingdom.

Pannela was one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the Concan, towards the capital of Viziapore, and Sevagi got poſſeſſion of it by a ſtratagem. Seven or eight hundred of his beſt troops were led off by their officers, who had ſuffered themſelves, ſome to be affronted, others to be chaſtiſed by him: they took ſervice in Pannela, which Sevagi ſome time after inveſted, and the officers on a ſet night, at a part where trees were growing n. 10.

as

SECT. I.

as high as the walls, received as many of his men from without, as, with thoſe within, were ſufficient to overpower the garriſon; and then opened the gates. Sevagi acquiring more troops with the increaſe of his reputation, extended his ravages ſtill farther into the dominions of Viziapore. The king ſent his whole force againſt him, under the command of the ſon of Abdul. Sevagi kept the field, but out of reach, until he had bought one of the generals, who commanded a conſiderable part of the cavalry; and then ſtood the ſhock. The tainted general kept aloof, which ſpreading ſuſpicions of more treaſons, the efforts of perſonal valour in Abdul's ſon were not ſeconded, and he retired, although with much greater numbers, little leſs than diſcomfited from the field. Many of the ſuborned cavalry, although not the general, joined Sevagi; who ſoon after appeared plundering, in the mode of the Morattoes of this day, within ſight of the walls of Viziapore: on which the king's army marched againſt Pannela, which called back Sevagi to its defence. The ſiege was conducted by Siddee Jore, an officer of long ſtanding and reputation, who held the government of the port of Dunda Rajapore, with the adjacent country; and was admiral of the fleet, which the king maintained on the coaſt, to protect his trading ſhips againſt the Portuguefe, and the government of Surat. Siddee Jore inveſted Pannela cloſely, and a long while, but to no effect. At length Sevagi negotiated, and having made it publicly believed that he was on the point of giving it up on certain terms, went ſecretly

ſecretly out of the fort, and arriving ſuddenly with troops from his other ſtations at Dunda Rajapore, produced an order, as from Siddee Jore, for the delivery of this place, as the condition of the ſurrender of Pannela. His appearance gave credit to the forgery; for it was not ſuppoſed that he could have got out of Pannela without the permiſſion of Siddee Jore; and he was admitted into the town on the land: but the commander of the fortified iſland, called Gingerah, which is the valid bulwark of the harbour, entertained ſuſpicions, and would not deliver it up.

On the loſs of Rajahpore, the ſiege of Pannela was raiſed, and Siddee Jore went to exculpate himſelf to the king, who diſſembled his reſentment; which the Siddee nevertheleſs diſcovered, and left Viziapore, intending to retire to his own domain. He was accompanied by the troops of his command, who were a ſtrong body; a larger was ſent in purſuit of them, whom he defeated; on which the king himſelf took the field; but as a ſurer method, bought ſome of the officers neareſt to the Siddee, who aſſaſſinated him on the night before he intended to give battle. Meanwhile Sevagi at Rajahpore was trying all means to get poſſeſſion of the fortified iſland; but the governor was the heir of Siddee Jore, and from deſire to revenge his death, as well as for the more ſplendid eſtabliſhment of his own fortune, treated with the generals of Aurengzebe in Guzerat and the Decan, proffering his ſervice with the fort of Gingerah, and the whole fleet of Viziapore: his terms

SECT. I.

were accepted, and he was appointed the Mogul's admiral, with a large ſtipend on the revenues of Surat, from whence he afterwards continually received ſuccours againſt Sevagi. Theſe events happened in the years 1660, and 1661; and ſuch was the origin of the power of the SIDDEES under the Mogul.

1660. 1661.

Sevagi had ſcarcely thrown this confuſion into the kingdom of Viziapore, when it was increaſed by the death of the king, leaving his ſon a minor, and the nobles diſputing the regency.

1662. Taking advantage of theſe circumſtances, Sevagi ſent detachments to reduce the domains of Viziapore along the ſea-coaſt of the Concan. Some places they ravaged, and levied contribution in others; of others they kept poſſeſſion, and ſcarcely met reſiſtance in any: for the diſſentions in the adminiſtration prevented ſuccours. In the ſeaports which he intended to maintain, he encouraged, inſtead of ſuppreſſing, their ancient practices of piracy.

At the ſame time Sevagi himſelf, from his forts in the northern hills, iſſued into the plain, and on oppoſition from the troops of the Mogul, contrary, as he pretended, to treaty, directed his ravages againſt his territory, between Admednagar and Aurengabad. Aurengzebe was at this time in quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, having deſtroyed his three brothers, and reconciled the people to the impriſonment of his father: he heard with indignation theſe inſults of the adventurer he had encouraged; ſuch as the powers of Viziapore and Golcondah had long been deterred from attempting: and peremptory orders

orders were ſent to Chaeſt Khan, the Subah of the conquered territories in the Decan, and uncle to the emperor by marriage, to extirpate Sevagi, and his adherents. The Subah marched with a multitude of troops, to the foot of the hills, and reduced moſt of Sevagi's out-poſts without much reſiſtance, but was ſtopped much longer before Chagnah, which, although on the edge of the campaign country, was a rock inacceſſible to aſſault, and he is ſaid to have taken it by flying a paper-kite with a lighted match at the tail, which blew up the magazine of powder; and the exploſion deſtroyed the garriſon. The ſeaſon of the rains and ſtorms in theſe hills and the coaſt below them, permits no operations abroad from the beginning of May to the latter end of Auguſt. In the next campaign, the forces of the Decan were joined by thoſe of Guzerat, under the command of the Maha Rajah Jeſſwont Sing, of Joudpore, on whom Aurengzebe had conferred the government of that province. Religion, power, birth, and pride, concurred to ſet the two Subahs at variance, not unknown to Sevagi, who tendered his ſervices to the Mahah Rajah to aſſaſſinate Chaeſt Khan; which was accepted. The event is related different ways; in one, that Sevagi acted in perſon: it is certain he provided the aſſaſſins.

SECT. I.

n. 11.

n. 12.

1663.

They got into the tent of Chaeſt Khan after midnight, who eſcaped with a ſevere wound in his hand, defending his head; but his ſon, ruſhing in to his aſſiſtance, was ſlain. The con-

SECT. I.

fuſion and ſuſpicion produced by this event, and the incapacity to which Chaeſt Khan was reduced by his wound, put an end to offenſive operations during the reſt of this campaign; and Chaeſt Khan returning to Delhi, the next was not opened with the return of the fair ſeaſon, which gave Sevagi room to appear again abroad from his inward retreats in the hills. Nor did he loſe the opportunity.

1664. The blow he meditated was againſt Surat. It is ſaid he went into the city in diſguiſe, and remained in it three days, picking up intelligence, and marking the opulent houſes. To conceal his intentions, he formed two camps, one before Chaul, the other before Baſſein, as if his deſigns were in thoſe quarters. He then took 4000 horſe from his camp at Baſſein, ordering the reſt to continue the ſame watches, and muſic, as if their numbers were not diminiſhed, and himſelf not abſent. He led his party through unfrequented tracts, which he had himſelf examined; and appeared in ſight of Surat before his approach was known. The city at this time had only one wall, and that of earth; nor were the gates of any ſtrength. The governor of the town took refuge with him of the caſtle, and his example was followed by all who could gain admittance. From this terror no reſiſtance was made in the town, but the caſtle fired continually after Sevagi had entered, which he diſregarded; but, apprehenſive of troops from Ahmedabad, remained only three days in the town. The booty he collected in treaſure, jewels, and precious

cious commodities, was eſtimated at a million ſterling; which is not improbable, for he knew where to ſeek and demand them; and the annual importations of gold and ſilver from the gulphs of Arabia and Perſia, beſides what came directly from Europe, amounted at this time to 50,00,000 rupees, and two families in the town were the richeſt mercantile houſes in the world; there were many others of great wealth. The Engliſh and Dutch factories ſtood on their defence, but Sevagi gave them no moleſtation. This happened in January 1664. SECT. I. 1664.

Beſides the abundance of its commerce, Surat was in high renown, as being the port through which the Mogul's ſubjects made the pilgrimage to Mecca, of which, in the archives of the empire, it was called the port. Aurengzebe felt the diſgrace, as well as the detriment of the inſult; and foreſaw it might be repeated, until the city were better fortified, which required time; unleſs Sevagi were coerced by the ſtrongeſt neceſſity of ſelf-defence. The whole army of the Decan invaded his territory: the conduct of the war was committed to Jyſing, the Rajah of Abnir; who had a ſecret inſtruction to entice Sevagi to Delhi, but preferred the nobler exerciſe of the ſword, until the active and obſtinate reſiſtance of Sevagi produced a ſolemn aſſurance of ſafety from Aurengzebe himſelf; on which he ſet out for Delhi, accompanied by a decent retinue, and his eldeſt ſon. He had formed ſeveral excellent officers, worthy of truſt, and ordered them to keep up his whole force, under the uſual

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SECT. I.

ſtrictneſs, and ready to move at his call; but forbad them to truſt any letters from himſelf, unleſs confirmed by the verbal meſſages of particular perſons whom he took with him, in appearance as menial ſervants. He was received by Aurengzebe with much courteſy; which continued, until the ladies of the Seraglio, incited by the wife of Chaeſt Khan, in revenge for the death of her ſon, and the diſgrace of her huſband, ſolicited Aurengzebe, not unwilling, to deſtroy him. But the high Omrahs ſaid they had no other ſecurity for their own lives, than the word of the king, and that the Hindoo Rajahs would revolt at ſuch a breach of faith to one of their own condition. Sevagi, at the public audience, upbraided Aurengzebe with the intention, and ſaid that he thought Chaeſt Khan and Surat had taught him better the value of ſuch a ſervant; then drew his dagger to ſtab himſelf, but his arm was ſtopt. Aurengzebe condeſcended to ſooth him, repeated his firſt aſſurance of ſafety, and requeſted his ſervice in the expedition he was preparing againſt Candahar. Sevagi replied, he could command no troops but his own, and was permitted to ſend for them. Nevertheleſs his dwelling and all his doings were narrowly watched. He ſent his letters by his truſty meſſengers, who carried orders very different from the letters. His army moved into Guzerat, on the road to Delhi, and ſmall parties, too ſmall to create ſuſpicion, were ſent forward, one beyond another, with the fleeteſt horſes. When the foremoſt reached its ſtation, Sevagi and his ſon were carried out of their dwelling

A. 13.

ling at night in covered baſkets, ſuch as fruit and repaſts are ſent in from perſons of diſtinction to one another; and a boat, as for common paſſengers, was waiting at the extremity of the city. They paſſed the river unſuſpected, when Sevagi giving the boat-man money, bid him go and tell Aurengzebe, that he had carried Sevagi and his ſon acroſs the Jumna; then mounting with the firſt party, they ſet off at ſpeed, and recroſſed the river at a ford lower down; after which their track and ſtations were through an unfrequented circuit to the weſt of the great cities, and amongſt the mountains. The ſon, who had not yet reached his growth, emulating his father, ſunk, and died in the way, of fatigue; and the father, leaving attendants to perform the obſequies of his funeral pile, puſhed on until he joined his army in Guzerat; which he turned with burning vengeance againſt the Mogul's lands, whereſoever they were not appeaſed by money, or oppoſed by ſtrong ſituations. Surat, as the moſt ſcornful defiance, Sevagi reſerved to himſelf. A new wall was begun, but far from finiſhed; and the inhabitants, to prevent his troops from entering the city, as well as to remove them from the manufacturing villages around, capitulated with him in his camp, for a ranſom, which he did not raiſe to exceſs, as he intended to come again for more. The Rajah Jyſing was again employed to oppoſe him, and, as before, with inſtructions to perſuade his return to Delhi; to which Sevagi replied, that he did not think Aurengzebe ſuch a fool, as to think him ſuch a one, to truſt himſelf a ſecond time to the man who had once deceived him.

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SECT. I.

All accommodations being at an end, the Mogul troops belonging to the governments of Aurengabad and Ahmednagar, moved again to the hills of Concan, and paſſed the campaign at the foot of them, watchful to prevent the incurſions of Sevagi into the plain country; but made few attempts on his ſtrong holds within the mountains; nor were they ſolicitous to give protection to the territories on either ſide of them, belonging to the king of Viziapore, with whom they were at continual variance, on the account of diſputed diſtricts, or defaulting tributes. Their principal ſtation was at the city of Jenneah, which lies under the impregnable fortreſs of the ſame name. Sevagi, who never preferred the fame to the utility of his exploits, determined to avoid all encounter with the Mogul troops, without certain advantage; to plunder in Viziapore, when moſt convenient or neceſſary; but to perſevere without ceaſing in reducing the country between the hills and the ſea.

n. 14.

Every ſucceſs, howſoever extraneous, which increaſed his ſtrength, was now conſidered by Aurengzebe, as effectual obſtacles to his own ſchemes of conqueſt in the Decan: nor was he affected with leſs reſentment by the ſpoil of his own territory, in which the bands of Sevagi, deſcending ſuddenly from the mountains, committed ravage, as it were at will; eluding both reſiſtance and purſuit. To reduce him by the ſword was out of the queſtion; nor was the dagger more likely to ſucceed againſt a man, who had uſed it with ſo much ſubtlety and expertneſs; and Aurengzebe concluding that he could only

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be taken in the toils of ambition, formed a plan, which, even if failing in the main end, would, like many others of his profound ſagacity, operate to other intentions of his policy. SECT. I.

In 1667,* he appointed his ſon, Mahomed Mauzum (now become the eldeſt by the death of his brother in impriſonment) to the viceroyalty of the Decan, and gave him in ſecret conference the inſtruction of his conduct. The prince marched from Delhi with a numerous and choſen army, and amongſt the officers were ſeveral of whom Aurengzebe entertained ſuſpicions. It is ſaid that Sevagi, diſguiſed like a peaſant, waited his paſſage through a village near Brampore, and preſented a plate of cream, which, from its appearance, Mauzum ordered to be ſerved at his meal; within was a note incloſed in wax, written by Sevagi, declaring, that curioſity had led him to view the mighty prince, who now condeſcended to become his antagoniſt in the liſts of fame; expecting to acquire more from this conteſt than from all his former achievements. The gallantry of the defiance, if true, muſt have warned the prince (had there not been proofs before) of the dangerous reſources of his intricate intrepidity.

The Mogul army ſpread along the foot of the hills to the north and ſouth of Jenneah-gur, but with ſuch careleſs watch, that the bands of Sevagi made excurſions through them, even to the gates of Viziapore, and returned with rich booties and impunity: much leſs were they interrupted in

* This date appears in Mr. Gentil.

SECT. I.

reducing the ſea coaſt of the Concan. The Mogul ſoldiery murmured through envy, and criminated the indolence of their generals, who caſt the blame on their prince. Aurengzebe received accounts from many hands, of the ſtate of the army, and anſwered them by ſuſpicions of his ſon; whom he nevertheleſs ordered the accuſers to obey at all events, that he might diſcover his real intentions, which, if ſiniſter, he reſerved to himſelf to puniſh; at the ſame time he inſtructed his ſon, to make the vindictive diſpleaſure of his father the plea of the revolt, which had been concerted between them before he left Delhi. And ſo many evidences of the Emperor's miſtruſt were in the camp, that few ſuſpected the diſſimulation. Jyſing of Abnir commanded the auxiliary forces of the Rajahs, and Delire Khan the Mogul troops, under Sultan Mauzum. Jyſing was attached to the prince, from reſpect to his birth; for his mother was the daughter of a Rajah of high antiquity. He concurred in the revolt, and giving his own, not only procured the ſignature of all the other Rajahs in the army, but likewiſe induced Jeſſwont Sing, of Joudpore, to promiſe that he would join the ſtandards of Sultan Mauzum, when advanced as far as his country. Services which Delire Khan had rendered Aurengzebe in his wars for the throne, had only left ſuſpicions, inſtead of gratitude; which had not eſcaped his penetration, and now in turn led him to ſuſpect ſome machination of Aurengzebe in the revolt of his ſon; in conſequence of which, he marched away with the

the troops of his command to Delhi, as a proof of his fidelity; which only diſappointed Aurengzebe, without changing his opinion: who nevertheleſs ordered him to halt in Malva, as an advanced guard againſt the approach of Sultan Mauzum, and made preparations to march himſelf towards Agra.

Things being in this apparent ſtate of commotion, Sultan Mauzum applied to Sevagi for aſſiſtance, repreſenting the motives of his revolt, and the adherents he had gained; all which Sevagi knew before by his ſpies; but ſuſpected: and in order to obtain certitude from time, promiſed troops with his own ſervice in perſon, in the day of conflict. To remove his doubts, Mauzum moved with his army from Aurengabad, towards the north; nevertheleſs not Sevagi from home; but waited intelligence from his emiſſaries at Delhi, who could diſcover nothing: for Aurengzebe had revealed the colluſion to no one. But he appeared without anxiety in his countenance, nor were the military preparations urged with his uſual activity; which decided the judgment of Sevagi. Sultan Mauzum, marching onward, remonſtrated to Sevagi the evil conſequences of his delay to join the army; and to convince him of the reality of the revolt, formally diſtributed all the great employments in the empire. Sevagi anſwered, that the Sultan's force alone was more than ſufficient to diſcomfit the languid efforts of his father; but promiſed to guard the Decan in his abſence, and, in the caſe of his defeat, aſſured him of refuge in his own territory. The Sultan now began to think

SECT. I.

that Sevagi might ſuſpect his ſcheme, and, as a laſt trial, reproached him with the hazardous venture he had made, from reliance on his aſſiſtance in the hour of deciſion, which was now become inevitable; and offered him the poſt of captain-general of his army and future empire. Sevagi adviſed him not to wait for his troops, but give battle without heſitation; if defeated, to fall back into the Decan, where he would join in maintaining the war againſt Aurengzebe, until the laſt extremity; which it is probable he would have done.

By this time the army was arrived at the river Schambal, in Malva, and Sultan Mauzum was convinced that Sevagi had diſcovered the ſnare. On which he changed his ſecret correſpondence with his father to an open negociation of apology, and by his order returned to Aurengabad, and continued in the government of the Decan. Jyſing died of poiſon, imputed to Aurengzebe, on his arrival at Brampore; ſeveral officers, who had been the moſt zealous in the revolt, were ſeized, and impriſoned for life; and all the others were made known to Aurengzebe; who moreover by this complicated ſtratagem, fixed, as he had foreſeen ſuch general diſtruſt on his ſon, as was likely to prevent him from gaining ſupport in any future intention of real rebellion. Sultan Mauzum returned to Delhi, and arrived there on the ſucceeding January, a few days after the death of his grandfather Shah Jehan. Theſe events cloſed with the year 1665, during which the empire was threatened with invaſion from Perſia, at this time ruled by Shah Abbas the

1665.

a. 15.

ſecond,

SECT. I.

fecond, whoſe troops were continually repairing to Kandahar; and both ſovereigns intended to command their armies in perſon: but before either were ready, Shah Abbas died at Tauris in September 1666, and the infancy of his ſucceſſor changed the councils of Perſia to peace: nevertheleſs their intrigues had ſown the ſeeds of future commotions in the Mogul's empire; for ſeveral of the Pitan tribes of Piſhavir and Cabul had confederated to join the Perſians; and being left by the death of the Sophy to the mercy of Aurengzebe, were puniſhed with vindictive ſeverity. Tumults enſued, which were quelled and revived, until time and deſpair united all the tribes in ſteadfaſt rebellion.

n. 16. 1666.

Sultan Mauzum was recalled to Delhi in 1667, when the command of the Decan devolved on Bahadar Khan, an Omrah of high birth, and little enterpriſe, which Aurengzebe endeavoured to ſupply by ſending back Delire Khan to act as his ſecond, whom he thus removed with the appearance of favour from the hope of employment againſt his own countrymen the Pitans, amongſt whom he could not be truſted. Both the generals were enjoined to exert their utmoſt efforts in repreſſing Sevagi, who was continually gaining ground.

1667.

The Concan is that region, which extends along the weſtern coaſt of India from the territory of Goa to Daman, in length two hundred and forty miles. The vaſt range of hills which accompanies the ſea coaſt, and always in ſight of it from Cape Comerin to Daman, is called the GAUTS, an Indian word which ſignifies

n. 17.

SECT. I.

ſignifies paſſages. This chain, never more than fifty, or leſs than thirty miles from the ſea, has in its whole extent very few paſſes which open into the inland country by windings amongſt the mountains which diminiſh the abruptneſs of the aſcent. In all other parts, and eſpecially in the Concan, the whole chain ſeems one connected wall, to the ſummit of which every path has been hewn by the hand of man, and nevertheleſs is not to be aſcended even by the ſingle foot of the traveller without the fatigue of hours. The eaſtern ſide of the ridge is not ſo ſteep, neither is it ſo high; becauſe the level of the coaſt lies much lower than the level of the inland country, which nevertheleſs continues breaking for many miles from the foot of the Gauts into ſeparate mountains, of which ſeveral nearly vie in height with the Gauts themſelves. The ſea coaſt is interſected by many rivers, all of which deſcend from the Gauts.

Sevagi was at this time in poſſeſſion of all the ridge in the extent from Rajapore to Daman; beſides which he had ſeveral detached fortreſſes of great ſtrength to the eaſtward: Pannela, between Pondah and Viziapore, Saler Moler on the Tapti eaſt of Surat, Rairi thirty miles to the ſouth of Jenneah-gur, and like it, an extenſive fortification on the table of a very high rock. At this place he fixed his treaſury, and the reſidence of his court. Excepting Chaul, which continued to the Portugueſe, he was in poſſeſſion of the ſea coaſt from the river of Rajapore to the river Penn, which flows into the harbour of BOMBAY.

SECT. I.

This iſland had been ceded to the crown of England in 1662, as the dowry of Katharine, princeſs of Portugal, on her marriage with CHARLES the ſecond, who ſent a ſquadron with a regiment to take poſſeſſion, accompanied by a new Viceroy of Goa to effect the ſurrender; but the Portugueſe gentry, amongſt whom the lands of the iſland were divided, pretended that the terms of ceſſion were contrary to their rights, and being abetted in their cavils by their connexions at Baſſein and Goa, refuſed to acknowledge the Viceroy, if he perſiſted. On this the armament went to the road of Swally, where the troops landed, and alarmed the governor of Surat ſo much, that he threatened to deſtroy the Engliſh factory in the city, which at this time was the preſidency of all their ſettlements in India. The armament therefore ſailed away to the iſland of Anchidiva, near Goa, where they continued negotiating until one half of the troops and ſeamen died through the inclemency of the climate; and amongſt them Sir Andrew Shipman, who had been appointed to govern Bombay. His ſecretary Cook, preſuming on ſome delegation of powers, concluded a treaty with the council of Goa, very derogatory from the rights granted by the crown of Portugal. This treaty was executed on the 14th of January 1665, and ſoon after the remains of the armament ſailed to Bombay, and were permitted to take poſſeſſion. However the treaty was diſavowed in England, and Sir Samuel Lucas was appointed governor, ſtill for the crown; but King Charles ſoon tired

SECT. I. 1668. tired of the expence, and granted the iſland to the Eaſt India company, with extraordinary privileges, by a charter dated the 27th of March 1668; when the company appointed commiſſioners to govern it under the controul of the preſidency of Surat.

The tract of land on the main, which extends from Tull, the ſouth point of the harbour, to the river Penn, which lies deep within the bay, is extremely fertile, and was called the n. 18. CORLAHS, meaning diſtricts; from which Sevagi permitted the new ſettlers to draw proviſions, and treated them as welcome cuſtomers whilſt they continued defenceleſs: Neither ſide ſeem to have had any competent notion of the value, of what the one had acquired, and the other had neglected to get poſſeſſion.

It was near thirteen years ſince Sevagi had gained the town of Dunda Rajapore, from whence he had every year opened n. 19. batteries againſt the fortified iſland of Gingerah, which ſtands within half a mile of the ſhore: but the Siddee kept Gallivats under the walls, and ſhips in the harbour, which Sevagi had not veſſels to withſtand, and therefore could never venture to tranſport his troops to the aſſault.

The Mogul's generals eſtabliſhed their principal incampment at Jenneah-gur, which, ſince Sevagi had fixed his reſidence at Rairi, became ſtill more the proper ſituation to watch his excurſions either towards Surat or Aurengabad; but he continued to elude their vigilance, and at the end of

1669

1669 appeared ſuddenly at the head of his army before Surat: a part of the wall ſtill remained unfiniſhed, at which his troops entered with little reſiſtance; and the governor of the town pretending ſurpriſe retired into the caſtle. Every houſe which did not pay competent ranſom was plundered, but the Engliſh and Dutch factories were exempted, as in 1664, from either moleſtation or demand. The booty was regularly collected, and carried to Rairee. The governor was ſuſpected of connivance, and ſoon after died ſuddenly of poiſon, adminiſtered, it is ſaid, by the order of Aurengzebe, who could ſcarcely have recurred to ſuch means of removing one of his own officers, but from the apprehenſion of his eſcape, if apprized by uſual warning. SECT. I. 1669. n. 20.

The inſult exaſperated Aurengzebe as much as the former ſack of 1664: he renewed his injunctions of exertion to his generals, and reinforcements were ordered to join them even from the province of Behar; probably becauſe none nearer to the perſon of the emperor could be ſpared, from his reſerves for the war of the Pitans. But as a ſurer means of confining Sevagi to his own defence, he ordered veſſels to be built in the ports of Surat and Cambay, which were to carry troops, and make deſcents on the ſhores of the Concan, in conjunction with the fleet commanded by the Siddee. n. 21. n. 22.

Theſe preparations only increaſed the exertions of Sevagi to extend his conqueſts along the coaſt. In 1670 he ſent a large detachment to attack the town of Rajapore; which is 1670. n. 23.

SECT. I. 1670. ſituated on a fine river, forty miles to the north of Gheriah, and had long been, as at this time, a very frequented port, immediately belonging to the king of Viziapore. Reſiſtance was made even in the field; but the town was carried, and all kind of property, although much belonged to the trade of ſtates with whom Sevagi had no quarrel, was plundered without remiſſion or diſtinction. The Engliſh at this time had a factory in the town, and eſtimated their loſs at 10,000 pagodas.

1671. In the beginning of 1671, he appeared again before Surat, p. 24. ravaging and plundering until the city paid him a large contribution in money. We find him at Rairee in December, and his agent at the ſame time at Bombay treating about a compenſation for the loſs, which the company had ſuſtained at Rajapore.

672. In the beginning of the enſuing year 1672, Delhire Khan took a ſtrong fort called Pinna Chaukna, in Sevagi's upper or northern country, and put all the males above nine years of age to the ſword. Sevagi immediately called troops from all his garriſons, giving out that he intended to offer Delhire Khan battle, who although he had 60,000 horſe, was deceived by invented reports, and waited in expectation of the encounter at Jenneah, until he heard that Sevagi had marched round forty miles to the north with a large convoy of proviſions, and had effected his real purpoſe of victualling Saler Moler; from whence he returned, again out of the reach of Delhire

Delhire Khan, to Rairee, where he arrived in February; and immediately came down the Gauts to Decir; when it was believed, that he deſigned to proceed to Surat; but as he never did the thing he ſeemed to mean, went back to Rairee. Soon after the rains and ſtormy ſeaſon ſet in, during which operations in the field are generally precluded until the end of September; but in the month of July Sevagi came down the Gauts again with his army, and advancing from Decir along the lower mountains, ſent forward his general Morah Pundit with 10,000 horſe to Surat, intending to burn the fleet which had been built by the Mogul's order, and was aſſembled in the river ready to ſail with the Siddee's, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. It would have ſaved a double march if he had made the attempt on Surat immediately after he had victualled Saler Moler; but the city, as well as the camp at Jenneah, had taken the alarm; and by deſiſting at that time, and again, when he came down the Gauts before the rains, he prevented all ſuſpicion of his intention at this adverſe ſeaſon. SECT. I. 1672.

Whilſt waiting the reſult of Morah Pundit's expedition, Sevagi himſelf continued with the reſt of his force in the territory of Ghour and Ramnagur, which bordered on the diſtricts of the Portugueſe at Daman, and belonged to two petty Rajahs, who had allowed and concealed his march when he ſurpriſed Surat in 1664, and afterwards whenſoever required. Theſe ſervices had been requited with money and attentions: and now as a compliment, Sevagi tendered a viſit

SECT. I. 1672.

to the Rajah of Ramnagur in his fort; and being admitted, ſeized, and kept poſſeſſion of it; ſaying that it was inconvenient to truſt him any longer with the key of his treaſury; for ſuch he was wont to call Surat. The ſtations in the mountains were the only value of the territory belonging to the Rajah's; to whom the low land of the Portugueſe paid tribute for refraining from the plunder of its harveſts. Sevagi ſent a body of troops, who having ſufficiently diſplayed themſelves, halted quietly at the barrier of Daman, where their appearance, as it was intended to try, raiſed the utmoſt conſternation; for although a regular fortification, nothing was in readineſs for defence. After ſome guns had been hauled up from the ditches to the baſtions, an officer was ſent to inquire the intention of Sevagi's, who anſwered that he was an embaſſador come to eſtabliſh the ſame tribute, which uſed to be paid to the Rajahs.

At this time Sultan Mauzum had returned to Aurengabad, entruſted again with the ſupreme command of the Decan, although immediately after his releaſe from a confinement of two years, inflicted for cauſes not mentioned; but probably from diſcoveries, which left doubts whether he would not have revolted in earneſt, if Sevagi, when invited, had joined him in 1666. The continuance of Delhire Khan in his command after the return of Sultan Mauzum, ſeems to authorize the notion: which the reſtoration of Sultan Mauzum does not contradict; ſince it was conſonant with the deep and undaunted policy of Aurengzebe,

Aurengzebe, to truſt whom he ſuſpected, with means which might tempt the venture; and a perſuaſion prevailed in the country that the Sultan was in intelligence with Sevagi on his arrival. SECT. I. 1672.

Morah Pundit failed in the intention of burning the king's veſſels, which rode under the protection of the Siddee's ſhips, and of the caſtle: but he cloſely beſet the town, and ſtopped all acceſs, whether of trade or proviſions. The new governor was a dependant on Sultan Mauzum; for in Indoſtan the connexion between the patron and client laſt through life, unleſs diſſolved by permiſſion, or treachery. Morah Pundit demanded an exorbitant ranſom from the town, it was ſuppoſed by the governor's advice, who uſed the pretence to levy extravagant ſums, even by violence; which with the continuance of the diſtreſſes from the enemy without, were intended, it was thought with the approbation of Sultan Mauzum, to drive the inhabitants in deſpair to open their gates to Sevagi. However as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted the fleets to put to ſea, Morah Pundit compromiſed for the retreat of his army, at much leſs than his firſt demands: but the ſum was ſtill great, and the governor reſerved more of what he had collected, for himſelf.

Sevagi* in the mean time was looking out another way. England and France were at this period united in war againſt

* We have taken this excurſion of Sevagi to Golconda, in 1672, from Carre.

the

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the States of Holland. In the beginning of the year 1672 the fleet which Mr. De La Haye brought from France, failed from Surat to make an eſtabliſhment in the bay of Trinconomalee, where they were oppoſed by a larger fleet of the Dutch, commanded by Rickloſſe Van Goen, the governor of Ceylon. Mr. De La Haye leaving a part of his troops to maintain the works he had raiſed in the bay, ſailed to the coaſt of Coromandel, and receiving ſome inſulting anſwers from the Mooriſh governor of San Thomé, landed and carried the town by aſſault, which at that time belonged to the king of Golcondah, whoſe forces had taken it thirteen years before from the Portugueſe; and the conqueſt, as from Europeans, had been proudly rated. All the ſtationed forces of the province from Nelore to Sadraſs aſſembled to retake it, advanced awkwardly, and the king prepared to ſend a better army, as ſoon as the ſeaſon ſhould permit in December. Sevagi received intelligence of theſe events and intentions from his emiſſaries at Golcondah and in the Carnatic; and in the month of November went off from Rairee with 10,000 horſe. No one knew whither the ſtorm was directed: it was expected at Viziapore, Ahmednagur, and even at Aurengabad, when he appeared almoſt as ſoon as the news of his approach at Golcondah. The adjacent city of Hyderabad was at this time open, but very populous, and the reſort of much opulence; he threatened to lay it in aſhes, if he were not immediately paid two millions of pagodas; it is ſaid that the demand

demand was complied with, but we cannot believe to the extent. With the collection he returned to Rairce as rapidly as he had come; and without interruption, although Sultan Mauzum was at this time advancing from Aurengabad, on a viſitation to the king of Golcondah, from whom he intended to draw an offering to the Mogul. Still to add to the boldneſs of Sevagi's excurſion, he left his coaſts, at this time threatened by the fleets from Surat, which anchored off the iſland of Bombay, at the end of October, and aſked permiſſion to come into the harbour, intending to lay waſte the Corlahs of Sevagi, but were refuſed admittance by the preſident Angier, who had lately come from Surat to regulate the doubtful ſtate of the iſland: On which the fleets ſailed to Dunda Rajapore, routed the attack on Gingerah, which continued from the ſhore, and deſtroyed ſeveral of Sevagi's veſſels in the harbour; from whence they proceeded down the coaſt, landing in ſeveral creeks and rivers, in which they burnt the towns and veſſels; but all this ruin was, at leaſt in pecuniary value, more than compenſated, by the money which Sevagi got at Golcondah. The Siddees returning haughty from this expedition, now came into the harbour of Bombay, without aſking leave, on the twenty-fourth of December; and were received with conſtrained civility. The Siddee urged an alliance againſt Sevagi, whoſe agent on the iſland threatened an invaſion as the conſequence. The Siddee ſeemed to acquieſce to the dilemma; which left the Engliſh no choice but ſtrict neutrality; and

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after

SECT. I. after a month ſtay departed for Surat ſo well ſatisfied with his reception, that he promiſed by his faith on the Alcoran, never to commit hoſtilities on the Corlahs of Sevagi; if he ſhould at any time hereafter be admitted into the harbour. But his people, with the habitual inſolence of the Moors, eſpecially in the ſervice of the Mogul, burnt, as they went away, ſeveral of the houſes in the town of Mazagong, which had been allotted for their reſort during their ſtay. We find nothing more concerning Sevagi and his ſtate in the courſe of the year 1672.

1672

1673. n. 25. The Dutch commodore Rickloffe Van Goen, who had oppoſed Mr. De la Haye at Trinconomalee, came in the beginning of the next year, from Ceylon to the coaſt of Malabar, with twenty-two ſhips, having on board 1000 regular troops. They proceeded to the northward, but advanced ſlowly, in order to diſplay their force to the ports and princes of the coaſt. The intention of the armament was to attack Bombay, and Rickloffe ſent forward a negotiation with Sevagi for the aſſiſtance of 3000 of his men from the main: offering in return the aſſiſtance of his fleet in the reduction of Gingerah; but Sevagi had concerted another enterprize which precluded this, although ſolicitous to him; and Rickloffe having waited ſome time for his anſwer, ſailed on towards Bombay, without the aſſurances he expected.

n. 26. Theſe delays gave warning equal to the alarm. Five French ſhips had come into the harbour from Perſia on the 28th of

December

December, and two days after ſailed to Surat, where four of them were lying, when the certainty of Rickloffe's approach was known, and immediately returned to Bombay, under the command of Mr. Baron, the French director, ſeeking and bringing protection. There were in the harbour a Dutch prize and two frigates with three ſloops lately built by the company to protect their trade from the Malabar pirates, who ranged at this time from Callicut to Surat. The Engliſh preſident, Mr. Angier, exerted himſelf with the calmneſs of a philoſopher, and the courage of a centurion. He aſſembled, and as far as the time allowed, diſciplined the militia, which, Chriſtian and Pagan, were 1500 men, all equally black: the genuine European military were 400. Of theſe troops he took the immediate command, as well as of the whole defence. The French ſhips and the company's veſſels were ſtationed cloſe to the ſhore, leaving proper openings for the cannon of the fort.

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Rickloffe ſtood into the harbour in the night of the 20th of February, but kept at the bottom of the bay. The next day he came near enough to examine the diſpoſitions of the defence, and then ſtood out to the weſtern ſide of the iſland, off which his fleet kept plying and ſounding for two days, and at length threatened a deſcent in the channel of Mahim, which ſeparates the north ſide of the iſland from Salcette. Mr. Angier marched thither with the troops, and diſplayed them in defiance along the ſhore; and Rickloffe was diſcou-

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raged, although he had 6000 Europeans on board his fleet. He failed for Surat, from whence four ſhips belonging to the Engliſh company, and richly laden, had been diſpatched for England before his arrival.

Sevagi, who had been as it were a ſpectator from his ſhores, of the conteſt amongſt the three European nations, commenced ſoon after the expedition he had in contemplation. The king of Viziapore died in December, and the general Bullal Khan gave the diadem to a prince, who although of the family, was not the heir of the throne. The election diſcontented ſeveral governors of provinces, who were abetted by Sevagi, and not unwilling to ſee the averſion againſt the adminiſtration increaſed by the detriments of his hoſtilities; who accordingly ſent off an army to the country on the eaſtern ſide of the mountains at the back of Carwar and Goa, which abounded in manufacturing villages under many towns of mart, which traded with the capital and the ſea. Sevagi's troops deſtroyed every thing they did not carry away. Their booty was great, but in no one place ſo valuable, as at Hubely, where they found a great ſtore of cloth for exportation, and all kinds of imported commodities, of which Hubely was the depoſite. The country reſounded with the caravans of plunder, which were continually coming, and diſcharged at Rairee.

n. 27.

Sevagi himſelf ſoon after returned thither to make the moſt of his booty, and to appropriate the produce to his treaſury; but

but he brought back with him farther ſchemes againſt Vizia- SECT.
pore, and left behind clandeſtine means of accompliſhing I.
them. 1673.

Excepting the territory belonging to the Portugueſe at Goa, the ſea coaſt with the country weſt of the mountains, from Rajapore to Mirzeou ſouth of Carwar, ſtill belonged to the king of Viziapore; ſome parts in immediate ſovereignty, others through the hereditary vaſſalage of ſeveral Rajahs, and more chiefs of leſſer note, called Deſoys. The moſt conſiderable of theſe Indian principalities was the territory of Sundah; and of the immediate governments, Carwar. Sevagi, during his late incurſion on the other ſide the mountains, ſent letters, emiſſaries, and money, to all theſe dependants on Viziapore, or to their officers, inciting them to rebel, and promiſing his aſſiſtance.

The Engliſh company, as before, at the taking of Rajapore, *n.* 28.
had loſt effects to a conſiderable value in the ſack of Hubely. They had long been negotiating for compenſation of the former damage. It happened in May, about the time Sevagi returned to Rairee, that the Moguls and Siddee's fleet from Surat, anchored off Bombay, and required permiſſion to paſs the impending monſoon in the harbour. This opportunity was taken to ſend an Engliſhman again to renew the Rajapore demand, adding to it the new damage of Hubely. Sevagi promiſed immediate ſatisfaction, and every advantage which his dominions could afford, if they would treat the Siddee as

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an enemy, and aſſiſt in reducing Gingerah. But nothing at this time acquirable in India, could have compenſated the company's trade at Surat, which placed their fortune in the power of the Mogul; and in deference to this danger the preſident Angier, permitted the four principal frigates of the Mogul's fleet, to be hauled in ſhore under the care and protection of the garriſon; but ſuffered none of the crews to ſtay with them, and utterly refuſed any of the reſt, or of the Siddee's fleet, either veſſels or men, to remain in the harbour, or iſland, who accordingly went away in much diſcontent, to get much leſs convenient ſhelter at Gingerah. Sevagi approved this conduct, and promiſed a ſpeedy adjuſtment of the Rajapore claim; but ſaid he knew of nothing taken at Hubely, beyond the liſt produced by his officers, which conſiſted of a parcel of furniture and trumpery valued at two hundred pagodas, whereas the real loſs exceeded eight thouſand. He however preſſed the Engliſh to ſettle again at Rajapore, with which they ſoon after complied; and to ſell him a great many cannon for the equipment of his fleet, which they evaded.

The ſeas were left to the ſtorms and tempeſts of the ſeaſon, and the mountains to their thunders, and Sevagi, who impatiently waited other ſignals than the elements, to appear abroad, which happened in the beginning of July, by the open revolt of the Phouſdar or governor of Carwar, who ſeized all the ſubordinate officers of his juriſdiction, whom he ſuſpected

pected of loyalty to his ſovereign of Viziapore, then attacked ſuch of the Deſoys as refuſed to join him, and admitting no neutrality, took what ſtragglers or property he found unprotected belonging to the Portugueſe at Goa; and even beſieged the Engliſh factory at Carwar, becauſe they refuſed to ſupply him with arms and money. Eight thouſand horſe ſet off from Viziapore, (the fear of the Mogul's army prevented more) and waited at the foot of the mountains, to paſs againſt the rebel. Sevagi, whoſe intelligence was as quick as his views, was prepared to take advantage of this confuſion, and directed his force from various quarters, where they had been ſtationed with this intention, and inveſted the ſtrong and important fortreſs of Satarah, which ſtands on the weſtern ſide of the ridge, but itſelf on a mountain, ſurrounded by many others, which with the weather ſecured his circumvallation. No aſſiſtance came from Viziapore, and the place ſurrendered towards the end of Auguſt, it was the depoſitory and refuge of much opulence and treaſure. The ſilver, gold, jewels, and all the other plunder of value, were brought with oſtentation to Rairee. Immediately after this expedition much buſtle enſued by the motion and change of troops from one ſtation to another, and twenty thouſand wallets were prepared at Rairee, as if to bring away the plunder of ſome city. The report of the wallets turned the attention of the Mogul's army to the protection of Surat, and quieted the apprehenſions of Viziapore, concerning Sevagi's intention to ſuccour the rebels

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of

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of Carwar. But both were deceived, for in the beginning of October 25,000 men, marching over different paſſes of the Gauts, and by various routs within them, ſuddenly united, and inveſted the fortreſs of Pondah, which was ſituated 300 miles from Rairee, and forty s. w. of Goa. It ſtood on the plain near the foot of the Gauts, and commanded the approach to the moſt frequented paſs leading from the coaſt of Sundah and Goa, to the inland of Viziapore; whoſe troops, engaged againſt the rebels of Carwar, immediately retired over the Gauts by other paſſes, leaving nothing to interrupt the ſiege of Pondah; which from its ſituation alone was capable of long defence againſt ſuch modes of attack as were in thoſe days of uſage in India, and which even the genius of Sevagi had but little improved. He had previouſly purchaſed eighty pieces of cannon, and lead ſufficient for all his matchlocks, from the French director at Surat, who had ſent them to Rajapore, and they were brought as requiſite to the camp at Pondah. The Siddee's fleet which had wintered under Gingerah, and the Mogul's frigates, which had been hauled on ſhore at Bombay, put to ſea on the return of the fair ſeaſon, and cruizing down the coaſt took many veſſels of trade and ſome of war belonging to Sevagi, and his country; and others by wilful miſtake, which, as neutrals, the Siddee was bound to protect. On the 10th of October the fleets, without meſſage or warning, came again into the harbour of Bombay, and keeping at the bottom of the bay, landed at the rivers Penn and Negotan, in

the

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the Corlahs of Sevagi, which they laid waſte, with much unneceſſary bloodſhed, and brought away many of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to be ſold for ſlaves. Bombay at this time drew all its proviſions from theſe Corlahs; for the Portugueſe, who had ever ſince the ſurrender of the iſland regarded the Engliſh eſtabliſhment with malice, had lately, upon ſome diſputes about duties, ſtopt all ſupplies from Salcette. Mr. Angier remonſtrated to the governor of Surat, as well as to the Siddee, againſt the violation of the harbour, of the Mogul's protection, and of the Siddee's oath; and repreſented the riſques to which the iſland was expoſed from the reſentment of Sevagi in return for their deference to the Mogul, by giving ſhelter to his fleets. But no arguments availed, and Mr. Angier reſtrained his indignation, from ſinking the Siddee's ſhips when they inſolently anchored before the fort. On which the Siddee renewed his depredations in the Corlahs: but after ſome days, troops arrived from Rairee, who ſurpriſed one hundred of the Siddee's, and cut every one of them to pieces without mercy. Soon after came down more, which completed 3000, who acted in conjunction, with council and vigilance. The Siddee landed the beſt part of his force, to try their ſtrength, of which he was not well informed, and his troops were defeated with conſiderable loſs. On this he recalled his ſmaller veſſels from the mouths of the rivers, to the ſhores of Bombay, where, making a merit of fear, he promiſed to deſiſt from farther hoſtilities in the harbour; and in December

SECT. I. 1673. cember went away with the whole fleet to cruiſe at ſea: where meeting with little ſucceſs, he returned to Surat, and demanded money of the governor for the great expence of his exploits; which ſet them a quarrelling.

1674. The opening of the enſuing year found Sevagi ſtill lying before the caſtle of Pondah, on which his artillery had made ſo little impreſſion, that he compounded with the governor, to leave him unmoleſted in the caſtle with its diſtrict, on condition that he ſhould give no interruption to Sevagi's troops in maintaining the adjoining paſs over the mountains, againſt the troops of Viziapore. Sevagi, in this invaſion, reduced all the coaſt, from Rajapore to the iſland of Bardez, which belonged to the Portugueſe, and was ſeparated only by the harbour from the city and iſland of Goa. The city was not a little alarmed by the neighbourhood of Sevagi's operations, which greatly diſtreſſed their trade and markets: nevertheleſs, not attacked, they refrained from acting offenſively; for the ſword of their ancient valour had long cankered in its ſpoils.

Sevagi, leaving ſufficient force to maintain theſe new acquiſitions, returned to Rairee in the beginning of April, ſo well ſatisfied with his ſucceſs, that he ordered preparations for his enthronement as a Rajah or Hindoo ſovereign: He had long been entirely independent of any other power; but the ceremony ſanctified by the bramins, was intended not only to inſult the Mogul, and the two other mahomedan kings with whom he was at war; but eſpecially to authenticate to his own

people his title, and the ſucceſſion, as king of the Morattoe nation: of whoſe ancient territory, long divided into many portions of foreign yoke, he had now gathered the greateſt part into one ſtate, under his own authority: for the Morattoe language extends along the coaſt from the iſland of Bardez, to the river Tapti, of which Chaul, Baſſein, and Damaun belonging to the Portugueſe, and Surat to the Moors, were the only diſtricts under other juriſdiction, and even to theſe he aſſerted right: on the other ſide of the mountains he had likewiſe conquered much of the ancient Morattoe country, and intended to compriſe the whole under his dominion. SECT. I. 1674. n. 29.

Although incenſed by the late devaſtations of the Siddee, Sevagi was ſatisfied with Mr. Angier's endeavours to prevent them, and repeating his former requeſt for cannon, invited an embaſſador to ſettle former differences; but unluckily at this juncture, letters and meſſengers were continually coming from the governor of Surat, requeſting that the Siddee's fleet might paſs the approaching monſoon in the harbour; on which Sevagi threatened the effectual vengeance of aſſiſting the Dutch fleet with 10,000 men to attack the iſland.

This fleet had returned from Surat to the coaſt of Coromandel, where in Auguſt they met, near Metchlepatam, a fleet of ten Eaſt Indiamen juſt arrived from England; which notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of Rickloffe's, which were twenty-two ſhips, would not, as they might, avoid the encounter; which was, nevertheleſs, maintained with obſtinacy by only n. 30.

SECT. I. 1674.

three of them; of which, two diſmaſted were taken, and the other ran aſhore, rather than ſtrike. Rickloffe ſoon after ſailed to Ceylon, and in the beginning of this year came again on the coaſt of Malabar; and was advancing to the northward, ſending forward reports of his intention to reduce Bombay, in which he had failed the year before.

This perplexity was increaſed by the appearance of the Siddee's fleet, which anchored off the entrance of the harbour, on the 24th of April. The ſame evening aroſe a violent gale of wind, which (had they not intended) would have forced them to ſeek ſhelter under the Iſland. As ſoon as the weather abated, they were requeſted to depart; inſtead of which, a great number of boats rowed up in the channel which divides the iſland from the main; and landed at the north eaſt point in the town of Sion, out of which they drove the inhabitants, and took poſſeſſion of their houſes, intending to eſtabliſh their quarters here, during the monſoon; but were driven out, by a frigate and part of the garriſon. Soon after boats with 500 men in armed array, endeavoured to land at Mazagong, the former ſtation of their reſidence; but were beaten back by the fire of cannon from the ſhore. Theſe exertions had been encouraged by news that the Dutch fleet with Rickloffe had ſeparated at Vingorlah, ſome going to Surat, others to Perſia, others back to Ceylon. It was then agreed, that only 300 men of the Siddee's ſhould continue on ſhore at a time, without other arms than their ſwords, and under the watch of guards

guards from the garriſon; and that this permiſſion ſhould ceaſe if they infeſted the Corlahs. The agent of Sevagi was at this time on the iſland negotiating a treaty, and repreſenting what he had ſeen with integrity, Sevagi agreed to receive the embaſſy. SECT. I. 1674.

Mr. Henry Oxenden was deputed, and Sevagi received his viſit of compliment with politeneſs, but referred him to his miniſters for the completion of the treaty, and afterwards employed himſelf for a month in purifications and other religious ceremonies dictated by his bramins, as neceſſary preparations for his enthronement; previous to which, he was publicly weighed againſt gold, and the ſum amounting to 16,000 pagodas, was given to the bramins. The ceremony of the enthronement was magnificent, and imitated the Moguls. At the concluſion of the feſtivals 100,000 pagodas more were diſtributed amongſt the bramins, and to the ſame amount in rewards to officers. Soon after the miniſters concluded the treaty with Mr. Oxenden, admitting eighteen of twenty articles propoſed. Of the two rejected, one was the currency of Bombay money in Sevagi's dominions, which was made inconſiderately, becauſe implying at leaſt a partial controul of his treaſury: Sevagi nevertheleſs diſmiſſed it mildly, ſaying that he could not compel his ſubjects to take foreign money, but according to their own judgment. The other, was the exemption of Engliſh wrecks on his coaſt, which he ſaid had been the property of the ſovereigns from time immemorial,

n. 31

n. 32.

n. 33.

SECT. I. 1674. and if yielded to the Engliſh would be demanded by the other European nations. In the articles admitted, were compriſed ſufficient terms of amity and commerce, but no alliance: by a ſeparate article Sevagi allowed 10,000 pagodas for the damages ſuſtained ſeven years before at Rajapore, one half to be paid in ready money, the other in beetle and cocoa nuts, to be delivered there; but agreed to nothing for the loſs at Hubely.

Mr. Oxenden tendered the mediation of Bombay, to make peace between him and the Siddees, which, it ſhould ſeem, neither Bombay could guarantee, nor the Siddee accept, without utter offence to the Mogul: Sevagi ſaid that Gingerah had coſt him too dear to relinquiſh the intention of reducing it, and at this time a body of his troops were renewing batteries againſt it from the ſhore; in which mode they had for fifteen years been endeavouring, without ſucceſs, what three ſhips of war would have accompliſhed in three hours. Embaſſadors from Viziapore had likewiſe followed Sevagi from Pondah, propoſing an alliance againſt the Mogul, who threatened Viziapore as conniving at the ſucceſſes of Sevagi, even in their own territory. The embaſſadors were detained until the ſeaſon of action approached, when Sevagi diſmiſſed them, ſaying he was ſufficient to his own defence.

In the beginning of Auguſt, his general Morah Pundit came
n. 34. down the Gauts with 10,000 men, and quartered in the ruined town of Gallian, oppoſite to the iſland of Salcette, from hence,

whilſt report terrified Surat, and awed the Siddee's fleet in the harbour of Bombay, meſſengers were ſent to Baſſein, demanding the chout of all the Portugueſe territory in theſe parts. The chout means the fourth part of the revenue, and this is the earlieſt mention we find of the claim, of which we have not hitherto been able to diſcover either the right or origin, but ſuppoſe it, whereſoever demanded, to ariſe from ſome pretenſion that the territory in ancient times belonged to a Rajpoot or Morattoe ſovereignty. But enmity was the cauſe of the demand at preſent; for the Portugueſe had lately inflicted great ſeverities on many families of the Morattoe religion within their diſtricts, becauſe they refuſed to become Chriſtians, and this time of retaliation, by requiring them to become tributaries, ſeems to have been expreſsly choſen; the Portugueſe having lately endured, with little reſiſtance, a much greater inſult from a much inferior force. SECT. I. 1674.

The armada which uſed to cruiſe every year from Goa, to aſſert the ſovereignty of the Indian ſeas, had the year before croſſed over to the gulph of Perſia, where they plundered ſeveral ſhips which had not taken their paſſes, and then proceeded to the port of Muſcat, with which they had long been at continual war: but not chuſing to riſque their ſhips againſt the caſtles that defend the entrance of the harbour, they landed without, and ravaged to the walls. They ſailed away on their return to Goa, in the middle of October; and the Imaum, or prince, as ſoon as they were gone, equipped ten the ſtouteſt n. 35.

of

SECT. I. 1674.

of the merchant ſhips of his port, which in December, near Diu, fell in with a fleet of grain veſſels eſcorted by ſeveral Portugueſe grabs and gallivats, of which they took and deſtroyed the greateſt part, and then ſailed down to Baſſein, where in the beginning of February they landed 600 Arabs, who ſpread themſelves, and plundered all the churches and country ſeats around, refraining from no cruelty or violation. The garriſon of Baſſein exceeded the number of Arabs, who had landed, but continued panic ſtruck within their walls, until they were gone. And this puſillanimity expoſed them to the contempt of all their neighbours. We do not find what ſubmiſſion the governor of Baſſein made to the demand of Morah Pundit, who, waiting the farther intentions of Sevagi, lived on the Portugueſe country, but avoided outrage in the exaction of proviſions.

The continuance of Morah Pundit's force at Gallian haſtened the departure of the Siddee's fleet, for fear of being burnt in the harbour with the connivance of the government of Bombay, towards which they carried themſelves with more reſpect than in their former ſojournments. They ſailed in the beginning of September. More troops were continually coming down the Gaut, and on the 5th of October, Sevagi came himſelf to review them, amounting in equal numbers of horſe and foot to 25,000 men, which a few days after went up the hill, towards Jenneah, with no other artillery than iron crows and pickaxes.

It

SECT. I.

It was ſoon evident that Sevagi in perſon was in the field: he fell upon the Mogul's camp, although conſiſting of 40,000 horſe, and effected tenfold more rout than his own loſs; his parties ſpread to unexpected diſtances, and committed every kind of ravage, burning the villages, deſtroying the productions of the ſoil, and carrying off the affluent commerce of the high roads, by which ſeven cities reſort to Surat, which barricaded its gates: one detachment puſhed to the walls of Brampore, plundering all the opulent marts of cloth between this city and Aurengabad. Sevagi in the mean time hovered about the rock of Jenneah, and formed a ſcheme to ſurpriſe it. Two men of the party got to the ſummit, and were diſcovered, when the uſual defence of rolling down the ſtones piled for the purpoſe diſperſed the reſt. The ſudden junction and ſeparation of the different parties abroad, bewildered and intimidated the purſuit of the Mogul's troops, from uncertainty of their routs and numbers; ſo that little of the ſpoil was abandoned in the retreat. As ſoon as all had rejoined the ſtandard, Sevagi returned with the whole to Rairee, where he arrived in the month of February 1675, and immediately entered upon another expedition, for which preparations had been making during his abſence.

1674.

1675.

Bombay was at this time relieved from the apprehenſion of farther attempts from the Dutch, by the peace concluded with Holland in February of the preceding year, of which the advices had arrived in October; but in this interval

Madraſs

SECT. I. 1675.

Madraſs had been threatened by Rickloffe Van Goen, who had joined the forces of Golcondah with 1000 Europeans, againſt St. Thomé; which they reduced M. de la Haye to ſurrender in September 1674*, after a defence of two years and three months, maintained through continual loſs with unabated vigour. The king of Golcondah refuſed to give the place to Rickloffe, who equally diſappointed by the peace in his intentions againſt Madraſs, had only removed its moſt dangerous rival. Soon after the Dutch revenged, in ſome meaſure, the injuries which the European commerce had lately ſuſtained from the avaricious governor of Surat; where, in the beginning of the year 1675†, whilſt Sevagi's troops were at the gates, arrived in the road ſeven Dutch ſhips of war, which ſeized all the ſhips of the port, and detained them from their voyages, until the government ſubmitted to the compenſation required. The Siddee's fleet which ſailed from Bombay in September, had proceeded to Surat, but left it in fear before the Dutch arrived there; after which they continued cruiſing along Sevagi's coaſts, with little ſucceſs: for his fighting veſſels were hauled aſhore, waiting until reinforced to a more equal match, by ſuch as were building, and all traders had been warned to keep in port. Nor had the Siddee's been more ſucceſsful in quelling the cannonade againſt Gingerah; from whence they

* Chardin alſo ſpeaks of this ſurrender of St. Thomé.

† The whole of this quarrel between the Dutch and the government of Surat is circumſtantially related by Chardin. During the diſpute, the Dutch ſent two yatches to aſk leave to eſtabliſh a factory at Cambay.

came

came to Bombay in February, diſtreſſed with every want, and ſoon after proceeded to Surat, where they continued through the enſuing monſoon. SECT. I. 1675.

By this time the rebellion of the Pitans of Piſhavir and Cabul had become the moſt ſolicitous concern of the empire. Some ſucceſſes obtained over detached parties in the year 1673, induced the Mogul's Governor of Piſhavir to paſs the Indus with all his army, intending to force their ſtrong holds in the mountains; but the Pitans incloſed the army amongſt the defiles, and deſtroyed the whole, with their commander. Not having deſpaired of the chance of ſuch a ſucceſs, they had prepared a king, whom they proclaimed, not only as ſovereign of their own tribes, but of the whole empire.

It is well known that in the contention of Aurengzebe for the throne, his brother, the Sultan Sujah, who as well as Darah had the priority of birth, was defeated and driven out of Bengal by the general Emir Jumlah. According to the prevalent report of the time, he was murdered with his family and followers by a Rajah, on the confines of Arracan; but as his head had never been produced, nor the fact vouched by any perſons who knew him before his flight, ſome credit was given to other reports, that he had eſcaped; which is believed, as we are informed, in the iſland of Sooloo, far from Arracan and Bengal, where his tomb is ſhewn at this day. This uncertainty of his fate, furniſhed credulity and intrigue with pretenſions to aſſert, that he continued alive in Indoſtan, concealed n. 36. n. 37.

SECT. I. 1675.

cealed now here, now there; but ready to appear on any favourable opportunity of aſſerting his right to the throne. Aurengzebe was convinced of his death, but was very attentive to the uſe which might be made of the reports of his being alive.

A Pitan ſoldier had ſerved in the army of Sultan Sujah, and bore ſuch reſemblance to him in countenance and figure, that they might, under ſimilar ornaments, have been miſtaken for one another. It is ſaid, that he had acquired the imitation of his manners and deportment, and with leſs probability that he had appriſed himſelf of many minute particulars of his life; it is not unlikely that glimpſes of this apparition had given riſe to the reports that Sujah himſelf was ſtill alive. The Pitans produced this adventurer with oſtentatious reſpect as king of Indoſtan, and all the tribes were ſummoned to march with him to Delhi.

The whole nation could bring 150,000 fighting men into the field, and had they been united, could never have been reduced by the Moguls, to whom they always paid malignant ſubmiſſion; and the general character of the people (who, as by nature craving, arrogant, and cruel, are by principle treacherous, revengeful, and void of gratitude) rendered it unſafe to conciliate their leaders by high appointments, of which the denial increaſed the national antipathy. The news of ſuch an enemy ſupporting a pretender to the throne, agitated the very palace of the monarch, and the ambition

ambition of diſtant conqueſt yielded to the vital danger of rebellion. SECT. I.

1675. Aurengzebe* pitched his tent, and diſplayed the ſtandard of the empire, to which all his banners repaired with the indiſpenſable alacrity of which he ſet the example. The whole under his own immediate conduct, marched from Delhi, as near as we can combine in April 1674, and croſſed the Indus at the end of the year. On his departure Sultan Mauzum was recalled to preſide in the capital, and had performed nothing remarkable during this his ſecond adminiſtration of the Decan, excepting the levy of a large ſum of money from the king of Golcondah, in 1672, immediately after Sevagi had exacted a more exceſſive contribution.

The governor of Pondah kept no regard to his terms, as ſoon as Sevagi was engaged in diſtant hoſtilities; but renewed his dependence on Viziapore; which Sevagi determined to revenge; and as ſoon as he returned from ravaging the Mogul's territory, gave the general Bahadar Khan, who ought to have protected it better, a large bribe out of the plunder, for a ceſſation of hoſtilities until Pondah ſhould be reduced. *n.* 38. Troops had marched and inveſted the place before Sevagi's return, but although active their numbers were inſufficient: twenty thouſand more were ſent, and Sevagi himſelf followed in the month of March, viſiting Rajapore in the way, where

* Chardin ſeems to imply, that Aurengzebe was at Lahor in 1674 and 1675.

SECT. I. 1675.

he kept his magazines of war for his ſouthern territories in the Concan: great loſs was ſuſtained in the ſiege, which we find ſpoken of famouſly; the place was taken at the end of April, but we are uncertain whether by treachery, aſſault, or ſurrender. He then attacked the neighbouring territory of Sundah, in which were ſeveral ſtrong forts, whoſe garriſons reſiſted with no other effect than to increaſe the miſeries of the country, and their own. The town of Carwar was burnt, becauſe the caſtle did not ſurrender on the firſt ſummons: Sevagi in perſon gave the order; but received the Engliſh factors with civility, and exempted the factory from violence. The whole country was reduced as far as to the river Mirzeou, which is the northern limit of the kingdom of Canara. The queen of this country ſent gifts, and ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Sevagi, againſt ſome of her miniſters and relations. The Portugueſe at Goa were hemmed within their own diſtricts, and as before, not ſuffered to get proviſions from the adjacent country. The operations continued through the rains, and detained Sevagi himſelf from Rairee until the end of Auguſt.

Aurengzebe was at this time returned from the Indus to Delhi, and aſſailed as it were by the clamours of the Decan, made ſevere reproaches to his general Bahadar Khan, urging the utmoſt exertions, which Sevagi expected and defied, reinforcing his batteries againſt Gingerah, and ſending parties to ſcour the country about Surat, where the governor had received the ſame injunctions as Bahadar, and ſtrengthened the

Siddee's

SECT. I. 1675.

Siddee's fleet with two large ſhips, two frigates, and two thouſand men: nevertheleſs, with the uſual dilatorineſs, even when in earneſt, it was the middle of November before either the fleet or the army were in motion to purpoſe, when a large detachment forced through the paſſes in the ridge, and encamped at Gallian; and at the ſame time the fleet arrived in the harbour of Bombay, from whence they ſent a reinforcement to the camp, and then ſailed down the coaſt.

Gallian, with the country below the hills, as far to the north as Daman, excepting the diſtricts of the Portugueſe, had been reduced by Sevagi, and, with his fertile Corlahs to the ſouthward, lay expoſed to the devaſtation of the Mogul's army; from which they were nevertheleſs preſerved by a bargain of redemption; and Bahadar Khan, on receiving 10,000 pagodas from Rairee, went up the hill again, without having committed any ravage. The terms were ſo publicly known, that we ſuppoſe the ſum was accounted for to the king's treaſury, as a homage. But the operations of the Siddee were not reſtricted by this agreement; they landed and plundered in ſeveral parts, as they proceeded down Sevagi's coaſt, and at length burnt the fair town of Vingorlah, near Goa, where the Dutch had a factory, which defended itſelf. The fleet of Sevagi had by this time been increaſed to fifty-ſeven ſail, of which fifteen were grabs, the reſt gallivats, all crowded with men; they put to ſea from Gheriah and Rajapore, but miſſed the Siddee's fleet, which, on their return, went to the relief of Gingerah.

SECT. I.

Gingerah. Gallian being clear, Sevagi's troops at the end of the year began to fortify oppoſite to a fort called Sibon, belonging to the Portugueſe, in the neighbourhood of Baſſein, which produced ſome ſlender hoſtilities; but the work continued.

1675. *n.* 39.

1676. In the beginning of the next year, 1676, it was reported and believed that Sevagi was ill, dead, and poiſoned by his ſon Sambagi, at Rairee: this young man poſſeſſed all the courage and activity of his father, but little of his diſcretion or forecaſt: he was intemperately addicted to women, and had debauched the wife of a bramin, whoſe dwelling was on the ſide of the rock, to which Sambagi uſed to deſcend at night: Sevagi ordered the guards to fling him headlong down the precipice, the firſt time he ſhould attempt to get out of the fort after the watch was ſet. This menace gave riſe to the report of Sambagi's revenge; but the certainty of Sevagi's illneſs was confirmed by his long continuance at Rairee, whilſt the ſeaſon was fair for the operations of the field.

Early in April, Siddee Sambole, who had hitherto commanded both fleets, came from Gingerah to Bombay, with the Mogul's, but with few of the Siddee's; having quarrelled with ſome of the principal commanders, as well as with the governor of Gingerah, who had concerted to ſeize him; which had haſtened his departure ſooner than he intended. The cauſe of the quarrel ſeems to have been the embezzlement of money to which the community were entitled; and the ſame diſho-

neſty in his accounts with the Mogul had ſet the governor of Surat at much variance with him; dreading which he preſſed hard to winter at Bombay; but the prudence of Mr. Angier, who had lately returned to Surat, foreſeeing trouble to the iſland, either by refuſal or admittance procured an invitation from the governor of Surat, with aſſurance of oblivion: on which Sambole ſailed thither with all the veſſels he had brought, leaving the harbour on the 8th of April. 1676.

At the end of this month, Sevagi's general, Morah Pundit, came down to Gallian with 10,000 horſe, of which a detachment with a great number of labourers, proceeded to the northward, and took poſſeſſion of a ruined fort called Pannela, which ſtands on a hill, ten miles inland of Daman, and commands the frequented road to Surat. Sevagi himſelf ſoon after came to ſuperintend the work, which continued until the fort, ſuch as it is now ſeen, was raiſed above the danger of aſſault. Sevagi, on his return to Rairee, ſent all his troops, excepting what he left at Pannela, to their winter quarters. In July all the Siddee's veſſels, which had continued at Gingerah, came to Bombay, in order to ſpare the proviſions of their own garriſon: they were commanded by Siddee Coſſim, who had ſuperſeded the influence and command of Siddee Sambole.

If it were permitted to adopt conjecture, deduced from a variety of circumſtances and events, we ſhould give the following account of this community.

The appellation, of which the literal meaning is not aſcertained,

SECT. I. 1676.

tained, was applied in the Decan to natives of Abyſſinia, of whom ſeveral, either as ſlaves or adventurers, in former times gained aſcendance over a king of Viziapore, and were exalted by him to the higheſt employments in the ſtate. They gathered all of their own country they could procure either by purchaſe or invitation, and even the Coffrees of other parts of Africa. The natural courage of theſe people, not unmixed with ferocity, and always foremoſt in battle, awed the envy of their rivals, howſoever indignant from the pride of ancient Mahomedan deſcent, although the Siddees had likewiſe taken this religion.

Their firſt marriages were with natives of India, and afterwards among their own families; which preſerving the nationality, in time formed a numerous community, diſtinct in figure, colour, and character from all the other races of Mahomedans; which nevertheleſs could not have ſubſiſted, if the body of the people amongſt whom they had intruded, had been, as themſelves, Mahomedans, inſtead of Hindoos, indifferent to the diſtinctions of extraneous deſpots, they equally abhorred. At the time of Sevagi's revolt from Viziapore, three of the principal provinces of the kingdom were governed by Siddees, of whom the admiral of the fleet was one, and had under his juriſdiction a conſiderable extent of the ſea coaſt to the north and ſouth of Gingerah, when Sevagi got poſſeſſion of Dunda Rajapore; when, as we have ſaid before, the Siddees of the fleet and Gingerah, with ſuch as eſcaped to them off

the

the main, offered their veſſels and ſervice to Aurengzebe; but reſerved the property of Gingerah, and the right to whatſoever they might recover of their former fiefs, now loſt to Viziapore. Beſides their veſſels of war, they had ſhips and other embarkations employed in trade, which contributed as much to their ſubſiſtence as the ſtipends of Aurengzebe. Reverence to the higher family, and to the Mogul's choice, had given the pre-eminence of command to Siddee Sambole: but the other captains preſerved the diſtinct command over their own crews and dependants, and an ariſtocratical council determined the general welfare of this ſingular republic; in which the loweſt orders, from their ſkill and utility, maintained ſome influence; and proud of their importance, merited it, by the alacrity of their ſervice, inſomuch, that they excelled all the navigators of India, and even rated themſelves equal to Europeans; and indeed the onſet of their ſword was formidable in boarding, and on ſhore. SECT. I. 1676.

Siddee Coſſim was received with reſpect by the Engliſh government at Bombay, and took his abode at Mazagong, where the larger veſſels rode, and the ſmaller were hauled on ſhore. They continued here until the middle of Auguſt, when Morah Pundit came down the Gauts with 10,000 men to renew the attack of Gingerah; where they felled all the wood around to make floating platforms with breaſt-works, from which the walls were to be aſſaulted. On which Siddee Coſſim went away with three hundred of his beſt men, to rein-

SECT. I. 1676.

force and maintain the defence, and all the others followed as ſoon as the veſſels could ſafely put to ſea.

Sevagi himſelf continued at Rairee; as we compute, until the end of June, when the rains had ceaſed; and this was the longeſt repoſe of his life, that he had withheld himſelf from perſonal exertions in the field, ever ſince he had firſt drawn his ſword, for it laſted eight months. He then ſet out on an expedition, of which no one knew the object, and in July appeared in ſight of Golcondah, with twelve thouſand horſemen, but twice that number of horſes; for every rider had two: whoſe march had been ſo rapid, and conducted with ſo much obſcurity, that the government had not been appriſed of it in time to collect a body of troops capable of oppoſing them, nor even to barricade the inlets into the opulent city of Hyderabad; neither had the rich inhabitants ſufficient warning to remove their families and wealth. Even the king was precluded from taking refuge in the fortreſs of Golcondah, but continued in his palace in the city, which Sevagi having ſufficiently terrified with his marauders, encamped at ſome diſtance, but nearer to the fortreſs, and ſent his demands to the miniſters, of a vaſt ranſom for refraining from burning the whole city to the ground, beſides a daily ſum for the maintenance of his troops, until the ranſom ſhould be paid. Here likewiſe, as formerly at Gallian and Surat, he knew every wealthy houſe, and he let them know that they could rely on no ſecurity except by taking his ſafeguards, which,

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which, inſtead of papers, were a few truſty men from the camp; and ſo great was the diſmay, that this protection was ſought with avidity, and paid for to his treaſury at exceſſive rates by every family of diſtinction. In the mean time a negotiation was going on with the miniſters, who ſent every day five thouſand rupees as an allowance for proviſions to his troops; who bought none, but lived on what they levied by contributions or got by plunder from the country. At length Sevagi agreed to viſit the king; but as he would not admit of any ſuperiority in the ceremonial, it was ſettled that both ſhould enter at oppoſite doors of the hall, advance, accoſt, and ſit down, at the ſame time, after which the conference was to begin. It laſted a while, during which more of Sevagi's troops were continually coming into the city and aſſembled round the palace, until the number of horſemen amounted to ſix thouſand, all of whom drew up, and kept their order, as exactly as if under review; and whenſoever Sevagi came to the windows, which he did ſeveral times to ſhew them that he was alive, all in ſight looked up immediately, and fixing their eyes only on him, preſerved the moſt profound ſilence, expecting his word. By this example, Sevagi meant to ſhew the king the affection as well as obedience of his troops. The purport of their conference was never known; but it doubtleſs turned on their equal deteſtation of the Mogul. Some days after (it was in Auguſt) Sevagi was ſatisfied, and broke up his camp; to which the

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ſtipulated allowance of five thouſand rupees had been regularly ſent, but on the laſt day this ſum was doubled. What more he received from the king's treaſury as the general ranſom, was not divulged; amongſt other preſents of courteſy, the king gave him a palankin covered with plates of gold, in which he rode out of his camp, not without political oſtentation, on the day of his departure. His army plundering as it went, arrived at Rairee with a vaſt train of booty in the beginning of September, and he immediately made preparations for another expedition; which became by far the moſt important operation of his life, but which our lights are very inſufficient to explain.

Towards the end of September, he marched from Rairee with thirty thouſand horſe, the greateſt number he had hitherto brought together into the field; giving out that he intended to invade the kingdom of Canara, from his new acquiſitions to the ſouth of Goa. The army kept awhile to the weſt of the hills, but ſuddenly aſcended the ridge, and fell unexpectedly upon the northern region of Viziapore, where, beſides ravaging the open towns and country, they laid
n. 40. ſiege at the ſame time to two ſtrong forts, one called Billigong, near Bancapore, the other at five days journey from this, and called Rayim.

The Mogul's general Bahadar Khan had lately entered Viziapore. The motive aſſigned for the quarrel is improbable, that the king had refuſed to join the Mogul's forces with

with 15,000 horſe againſt Sevagi. Bahadar Khan was defeated in two ſevere encounters near the city of Viziapore, and in revenge liſtened to propoſals from Sevagi, who offered, it is ſaid, 400,000 pagodas with his homage of fealty to the Mogul, on condition that permiſſion were obtained for his paſſage through the territory of Golcondah, to attack that part of the Carnatic which was ſubject to Viziapore; and a truce of all hoſtilities between the Mogul and Sevagi was to continue during his abſence on this expedition. 1677. *n.* 41.

At the cloſe of the laſt century, the Carnatic was under the dominion of a gentoo king, who reſided at Chandergherri, forty miles to the north of Arcot, and twelve to the weſt of Tripetti: the preſent ruins of Chandergherri denote it to have been, as it was then deſcribed, a very ſpacious city. But the king is ſtiled king of Biſnagar; for what reaſon we do not find, unleſs from the ancient title of a loſt poſſeſſion; for the city of Biſnagar is ſituated on the other ſide of the Carnatic mountains, two hundred miles to the north-weſt of Chandergherri, and was at this time part of the dominion of the Mahomedan king of Viziapore. Two Portugueſe Jeſuits from St. Thomé went to Chandergherri in the year 1599, and were received with attentions by the Gentoo king; whoſe ſovereignty they deſcribe as extending over the countries of Tanjore and Madura; and other Jeſuits who travelled at the ſame time into theſe countries confirm this aſſertion. *n.* 42. *n.* 43.

About

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1677.

About the year 1645, a deſcendant of this Gentoo king* of Chandergherri permitted the Engliſh to purchaſe the ground of Chinapatam, on which they raiſed Fort St. George, and the town of Madraſs. Seven years after, the Carnatic was invaded by the armies of Viziapore and Golcondah, acting ſeparately; but agreed, it is ſuppoſed, in the objects and diviſion of their conqueſts, which were accompliſhed in the year 1656. The forces of Viziapore reduced Velore, which probably was their firſt acquiſition, with all the forts in the valley of Vaniambady and on the hills on each hand, as far to the ſouth as Darmapuram; from hence eaſtward to Volcondah, and along the river Valaru, on which it ſtands, to Porto Novo on the ſea; from hence along the coaſt to the North as far as Conimeer, to the ſouth as far as the Coleroon; with all the forts and diſtricts, a few excepted, within the diagonal line returning to the north-weſt from Conimeer to Arcot, and Velore; it is ſaid the kingdom of Tanjore was likewiſe reduced by Viziapore, but we have met with no documents to confirm this poſition. The army of Golcondah, led by the famous Emir Jumlah, reduced Cudapah and all the hilly country which ſtretcheth north of Velore, from Gandicotah towards

n. 44.

n. 45.

n. 45*.

n. 46.

* We find the name of this king to be Seringa Rajah. Havart deſcribing the way from Pullicatte to Maſulipatam ſays, "Manſgewaka, firſt ſtage, Dutch Company's Village, given to them in the year 1640, by *Seringa Rajah*, laſt king of Carnatica. Obſerve, this village was given the ſame year we compute the Engliſh ſettled at Madraſs."—See note 44.

the

the ſea, with all the open country and the ſea coaſt between the rivers Penar, and Paliar, which diſembogue at Nelore and Sadraſs. Soon after this conqueſt Emir Jumlah revolted, and joining Aurengzebe, at that time his father's Viceroy in the Decan, they beſieged the king of Golcondah in his capital, who, to preſerve his diadem, ſubmitted his government to the controul of the Mogul; which had continued until this time, and enabled Bahadar Khan to procure the humiliating permiſſion which Sevagi requeſted. n. 47.

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The want of cotemporary record has diſabled us from acquiring any regular account of Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic, although on ground in which the arms and intereſts of our nation have of late years taken ſo much concern; he returned not to Rairee, as had hitherto been his uſage, at the ſetting in of the rains, but rendezvouſed in May of the year 1667, in a fortreſs belonging to the king of Golcondah; from whom he had perhaps obtained the permiſſion, in their conference the year before: from hence he ſet off with his whole force, paſſed by Tripetti, and afterwards within fifteen miles of Madraſs, but ſeems to have made his main puſh directly againſt Gingee, of which with Volcondah and ſeveral other forts we find him in poſſeſſion in the month of July, and it is probable that he had reduced much more; for ſome of his parties at this time plundered as far as Seringapatam in Myſore. It was impoſſible that this rapid ſucceſs ſhould have been the effect of his arms; but that availing himſelf of the diſcords n. 48.

SECT. I. 1677.

cords which prevailed in the council of Viziapore, he had gained ſeveral of the principal members, whoſe recommendations facilitated his compromiſes with the governors in the Carnatic. He appointed Hargee Rajah his viceregent in the conquered country, and fixed its capital at Gingee. Whether detained by the proſecution or regulation of his conqueſts we cannot aſcertain, but it does not appear that he quitted the Carnatic before the beginning of the year 1678.

Siddee Sambole with the Mogul's ſhips, and what remained with him of his own community, ſailed from Surat in October 1676, on a cruiſe againſt Sevagi's coaſts; and in December burnt the town of Jettapore, which ſtands at the mouth of the river twelve miles from the mart of Rajapore; but troops from hence deterred the Siddee's from advancing farther up the river: they then proceeded back to Gingerah, where the garriſon, ſtrengthened by Siddee Coſſim's reinforcement, and encouraged by his activity, had fruſtrated the floating batteries of Morah Pundit, who returned to Rairee. Poſitive orders had come from Delhi, that the Mogul's fleet ſhould be delivered to Siddee Coſſim, which Sambole promiſed to obey at the cloſe of the ſeaſon; and on this reconciliation, both fleets together came into the port of Bombay at the end of April, where Sambole promiſed from day to day to depart for Surat, but loitered until the monſoon ſat in; when it was impoſſible to put to ſea; and then took up his reſidence, as uſual, at Mazagong.

A wicked

SECT. I. 1677.

A wicked bramin, who was an inhabitant of the oppoſite ſhore, came and offered Siddee Sambole to ſeize ſeveral perſons, whom he repreſented as of much reſpect in Sevagi's government. The Siddee, afraid of diſcovery, gave him money to hire a boat and men belonging to the iſland, which ſet off as if on the ordinary occaſions of traffick, and brought back four bramins, whom the Siddee confined with all ſecrecy on board his own ſhip; ſo that the firſt intelligence which the government of Bombay received of the felony, was by letters from Sevagi's governor of upper Chaul, threatening a total prohibition of proviſions and fire-wood from the main, and even worſe conſequences, unleſs the bramins were immediately reſtored. The Siddee at firſt denied the fact, and then his ſhare of it; but complied. Soon after eleven of the boat's crew were taken, of whom three were executed, and the others ſent to Saint Helena.

The fair ſeaſon returned before the competition between the two Siddee's was reconciled. Sambole inſiſted on two of the largeſt of the Mogul's ſhips to carry himſelf with his retinue and family to Surat, and on the releaſe of his wives and children, who were detained by Coſſim as hoſtages at Gingerah; but on receiving an order from the governor of Surat to ſurrender them, Coſſim tendered his compliance to Sambole, who nevertheleſs continued to prevaricate; which ſo incenſed Coſſim, that he marched from his quarters near the fort with his retinue, which was three hundred men, and attacked the

SECT. I. 1677. quarters of Sambole, who had nearly the ſame number at Mazagong. The report of matchlocks and piſtols firſt appriſed the fort, which detached the beſt of the garriſon, with the troop of horſe, who fell indiſcriminately on both parties, until they had quelled the riot; which was not inſtantly effected; for three of the troopers horſes were killed, as was the horſe on which Sambole was fighting. Many of the combatants were wounded, and ſome ſlain; moſtly by the ſword. The council obliged the two chiefs to ſend all excepting a few menial ſervants to the ſhips: but permitted the continuance of the watch over the veſſels hauled on ſhore, leſt boats from Sevagi's Corlahs ſhould attempt to burn them in the night.

The council then interfered as mediators, and brought the two Siddee's to agreement; Sambole to have his family, and one of the Mogul's ſhips; Coſſim to receive all the others, who accordingly hoiſted his flags as admiral of both the fleets, which a few days after ſailed out of the harbour in the beginning of November.

Morah Pundit during the truce with the Mogul and the expedition of Sevagi to the Carnatic, had viſited and provided all the garriſons in and dependent on the Concan, and kept what troops were left for the field, with as much care, as if every day were to have produced hoſtility; which the Mogul's generals would before this time have renewed, had they not been engaged with little ſucceſs againſt the army of Viziapore.

We

SECT. I. 1678. n. 49.

We now reſume the war which Aurengzebe had conducted in perſon againſt the Pitans beyond the Indus, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 1675; before which a part of his vanguard had croſſed the river, whom the Pitans defeated, and put to death even the priſoners of their victory; but after the main army, with Aurengzebe himſelf, had paſſed, the Pitans confined their reſiſtance to ſkirmiſhes, the defence of poſts, and night aſſaults on the camp; which protracted the war for fifteen months; but numbers at length prevailed; for the Mogul army was ſufficient to people the country they attacked. After all the more habitable valleys were reduced, the Pitans retired into the more inacceſſible mountains, in which Aurengzebe did not think it worth the prize to expoſe his troops, nor his own preſence farther neceſſary; but eſtabliſhing a chain of poſts, and leaving a ſufficient force to defend the conquered country, under the command of a general eſpecially ſelected, returned himſelf to Delhi, from whence he had been abſent twenty-ſeven months, which, according to our computation, extended to July of the year 1676. Nevertheleſs the work was not yet finiſhed to his mind; and he continued at Delhi waiting the completion he had prepared.

The former governors of Piſhavir and Cabul had always kept the Pitans under ſevere reſtrictions, and their chiefs at imperious diſtance. But Coſſim Khan, whom Aurengzebe appointed on his return to Delhi, aſſumed a different conduct.

SECT. I. 1678.

He remitted the arrears, and lowered the rates of their tributes; treated their chiefs with equality, and even frequented them with ſlender attendance, and negligent familiarities, which left him at their mercy, ſubmitting to incur their contempt, in order to gain their confidence; but no condeſcenſions could induce them, as he hoped, to deliver up the pretended Sultan. He, however, diverted them from any ſiniſter ſuſpicions of himſelf; and got all who eſpecially ſupported the pretender, to come to a feſtival at Piſhavir; in which he made them drunk with intoxicated wine, when bands, concealed for the purpoſe, came in, and maſſacred them all, whilſt others overpowered their retinues. The impoſtor, on the deſtruction of his protectors, eſcaped over the mountains into Perſia, and was never after heard of. This execrable deed, Aurengzebe himſelf was obliged, by the public deteſtation, to reprobate; and recalling Coſſim Khan, degraded him to the loweſt rank of Omrahs; but privately aſſured him of favour, whoſe exculpation, had he dared to make any, would have been death. To ſoothe or obviate the vengeance of the Pitans, he ſent firſt his ſon Acbar, and then Sultan Mauzum, to Piſhavir. But the Pitans were too much diſconcerted by the loſs of their chiefs, to recur to arms.

The conſent or indifference of Aurengzebe to Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic, may be imputed either to the devotion of his attention to the Pitans, or to his belief that Sevagi would waſte his force unprofitably, at ſuch a diſtance, againſt

ſo

ſo ſtrong a country. But this reaſoning proved the importance of the conqueſt, which was not only ſufficient to maintain itſelf, but, with the parſimony of Sevagi's warfare, to furniſh means for other invaſions. Viziapore now became as much expoſed to his attacks from the Carnatic on one ſide, as from the Concan on the other; and the rich countries to the ſouth of the Coleroon lay at the mercy of his activity from Gingee, whenſoever diſengaged from other exertions. SECT. I. 1678.

Accordingly this increaſe of his power excited the indignation of Aurengzebe, in proportion to the obſtacles it might create to his own views of reducing the Peninſula. He ſharply rebuked Bahadar Khan, for having been miſtaken in the conſequence of his truce with Sevagi; and ſent back Delhire Khan with a ſeparate command, ordering him at leaſt to preſs the conqueſt of Viziapore, if he could not make impreſſion on Sevagi's countries; who returning from the Carnatic, ravaged in Viziapore, deſtroying the towns and tillage until the beginning of February 1678; when Delhire Khan with his army entered the country, and Sevagi, making the moſt of every turn, then offered his aſſiſtance to the king, which was accepted, and enabled the ſtate to make head againſt all the efforts of Delhire Khan. Sevagi returned to Rairee in April, after an abſence of nineteen months, the longeſt ſince he had fixed his reſidence there.

Siddee Coſſim with the fleets, after quitting Bombay in November 1677, continued cruizing along the coaſt of the Concan,

SECT. I. 1678.

can, landing frequently, but gaining little pillage, in lieu of which they ſeized what inhabitants they could catch, and made them, indiſcriminately, even bramins, the ſlaves of menial office. In March they came to Dunda Rajapore, where they continued until the governor of Surat had gained permiſſion of the Engliſh preſidency for their wintering again in Bombay, where they arrived at the end of April, and hauled their ſmaller veſſels on ſhore as formerly at Mazagong, and moored the larger as cloſe to it as they could lie; many of the men took up their dwelling in the town, and daily committed violence and injuries on the inhabitants, who were, for the moſt part, Gentoos.

Morah Pundit, Anagi Pundit, and moſt of the officers of the higher ranks in Sevagi's government, were bramins; and Sevagi, in deference to their execration of the inexpiable impurities which Siddee Coſſim had inflicted on the bramins he had taken priſoners, conſented to indulge their propoſal of burning the two fleets at Bombay; which moreover had for many years been the only obſtacle to the reduction of Gingerah. Accordingly Dowlet Caun, and Deira Sirang, the two admirals of his own fleet, came down with 4000 men in the month of July to Panwell, a large town on the river Penn, on the eaſtern ſhore of the harbour; but found not boats ſufficient to tranſport them; and the monſoon prevented the procurement of more from other parts without the bay: on this diſappointment Dowlet Caun marched with the men to Gal-

n. 50.

lian; from whence he requeſted leave of the Portugueſe to croſs at Tannah, intending to paſs the channel of Mahim, and advance through the iſland of Bombay to the town of Mazagong, where they would have attacked the Siddee's quarters and veſſels on ſhore, and from thence, in boats they might find or bring, have boarded the ſhips or veſſels at anchor near. SECT. I. 1678.

The alarm was not trivial at Bombay. Whilſt Sevagi's men were at Panwell, a conſiderable part of the garriſon was quartered at Mazagong; and when they proceeded to Gallian, moved to oppoſe them at Mahim, and a frigate was ſtationed in that channel to annoy their paſſage into the iſland. But fortunately Baſſein was equally alarmed for the iſland of Salcette, and the governor himſelf came with the beſt of his force to Tannah, and anchored forty armed boats in the ſtream, which utterly deterred the attempt of paſſing there. Dowlet Caun, not to have done nothing, burnt ſeveral villages in the Portugueſe country, and ſent a part of his troops by Pannela of Daman to plunder about Surat; which with the reſt were ſoon after recalled to Rairee; and as ſoon as the fair weather was ſettled, were ſent with many more, and a mightier train of artillery to Dunda Rajapore, againſt Gingerah. The wiſdom of Sevagi controlled his reſentment of the protection which Bombay had ſo often afforded, and now more openly than ever, to the Siddee's fleet; which indeed could ſcarcely be juſtified by the law of nations, and would have been ſeverely atoned, if the wants of Bombay had not continually brought

SECT. I.

brought money into his country; and a proof of the influence of this conſideration ſoon after occurred.

1678. The Soubadar or governor of upper Chaul had claims of money ariſing from traffick upon Petit, one of the company's factors, and on a Banian, who was brother to their broker at Surat; delays of payment had been long practiſed, and the Soubadar, relying on the vexation of Sevagi at the diſappointment of burning the Siddee's fleet, ſeized all the boats belonging to Bombay, which chanced at this time to be trading in the rivers, and ports of his juriſdiction. Thirty were in the rivers Penn and Negotan within the harbour, oppoſite to the iſland. The council of Bombay armed four boats with ſixty Europeans, who attacked and beat off the guard, and brought back moſt of the boats which had been ſeized. The Soubadar complained to Sevagi of this inſult in his territory; who ſaid the Engliſh had done right, and ordered him to releaſe all the trade and veſſels he had ſtopped in any part of his government.

Towards the end of the year the batteries of Sevagi were playing furiouſly upon the iſland of Gingerah, whilſt Siddee Coſſim, unable to pay his men for want of remittences from Surat, was conſtrained to continue in the harbour of Bombay. We have no account of what operations had enſued between the Mogul's troops and thoſe of Viziapore, ſince the month of May.

1679. The year 1679 opened with a new war, conducted by Aurengzebe in perſon, which leads us to recall an important meaſure

measure in his government, ſo contrary to all the notions of ſound policy, as well as all the feelings of general humanity, that reflection ſeeks the motive with amazement. SECT. I. 1679.

It is well known that Aurengzebe uſed the maſk of religious auſterity, amongſt his other means of acquiring the throne. Of his brothers, Darah had written a treatiſe, endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of Bramah with the tenets of the Alcoran; Sujah had no religion; and Morad drank wine to exceſs; and the indulgence of their father, Shah Jehan, to all perſuaſions, incurred the reproach of indifference to his own. Aſſumed practices of general eſtimation can never be comfortably relinquiſhed; but the hypocriſy of Aurengzebe increaſed with his power; and in order to palliate to his Mahomedan ſubjects, the crimes by which he had become their ſovereign, he determined to enforce the converſion of the HINDOOS throughout his empire by the ſevereſt penalties, and even threatened the ſword; as if the blood of his ſubjects were to waſh away the ſtains, with which he was imbrued by the blood of his family. *n.* 51. *n.* 52.

A few petty Rajahs were lured by better appointments to converſion, but the people clung to their pagodas; ſome preachers were put to death, which increaſed the ſpirit of martyrdom. An old woman led a multitude in arms from Agra towards Delhi, whom Aurengzebe defeated in perſon. The religious vexation continued. Labour left the field, and induſtry the loom; until the decreaſe of the revenues drew *n.* 53.

SECT. I. 1679. repreſentations from the governors of the provinces; which induced Aurengzebe to ſubſtitute a capitation tax, as the balance of the account between the two religions. It was laid with heavy diſproportion on the lower orders of Hindoos, which compoſe the multitude; inſomuch, that the produce, if we underſtand the account, would have amounted to half the ancient revenue: few, nevertheleſs, bartered their faith for the exemption, and thouſands periſhed under the oppreſſion.

n. 54. Abnir, Chitore, and Joudpore, are the three great Rajahſhips of Indoſtan. Abnir adjoins to the weſt of the province of Agra, and to the north of Azmir. Chitore lies on the weſt of Malva; Joudpore of Chitore, extending to the Indus; and both theſe principalities adjoin to the north of Guzerat. The races of the Rajpoots, who poſſeſs the three countries, are acknowledged the nobleſt in the empire: no inferior caſts are admitted to the honour of bearing arms amongſt them; and when united, they can bring 200,000 fighting men into the field. The Mogul had often endeavoured to ſubject them to amenable vaſſalage; but had never been able to obtain their acquieſcence to more than ceremonious acknowledgments, and rated ſubſidies of troops. The ſituation of their countries enabled them to retaliate injuries in the centre of the empire; but attached to their ſoil, as ground in which their deities, as well as anceſtors had lived, few of their princes had been ambitious of increaſing their territory. Jyſing, as we have ſeen, was Rajah of Abnir, and Jeſſwont Sing of Joudpore. Both

had

had ſerved in the revolution of Aurengzebe in 1676; but we do not find in the cotemporary accounts of that period, any mention of the Rajah of Chitore, although the firſt of the three in ancientry and reſpect, and ſtyled the Ranah, or lord of the Rajahs. SECT. I. 1679.

Jyſing died at Brampore, ſoon after the pretended revolt of Sultan Mauzum, and ſeems to have been poiſoned by the procurement of Aurengzebe; his ſon Ram Sing was at that time ſerving with a body of Rajpoots in attendance at Delhi, and admitted the capitation tax in his country. Aurengzebe then propoſed it, but with an alternative, and by an ambaſſador, to the Ranah, "That he ſhould no longer ſtrike coin "with his own name, but with Aurengzebe's; that kine might "be killed in his territory; that the pagodas ſhould be de-"moliſhed, or converted into moſques; that juſtice ſhould be "adminiſtered according to the Alcoran; and that if theſe "terms were refuſed, his whole people ſhould be ſubject to "the general capitation of the Hindoos."

The Ranah remonſtrated to gain time, which Aurengzebe likewiſe wanted, until his military preparations were ready, having two wars of equal difficulty to wage; and whilſt waiting, came the option of a third. The Rajah Jeſſwont Sing n. 55. died in the beginning of the year 1678, leaving a high ſpirited widow, and two ſons, not yet arrived at man's eſtate. Aurengzebe, to get them into his power, invited them to Delhi; they came even to the ſuburbs; but receiving ſome

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ſuſpicion, ſet off haſtily on their return the ſame night, and were purſued by five thouſand horſe, whom two hundred and fifty devoted Rajpoots ſtopped at a paſs, until the eſcape of the princes was ſecured

On this, Aurengzebe called up his ſons Azim and Ecbar, from their governments of Bengal and Multan; but without waiting for their junction, took the field himſelf in October 1678 with his two armies; the one under his own conduct, againſt Chitore and Joudpore; the other of Sultan Mauzum, againſt Sevagi. Both held the ſame rout as far as the province of Malva; on their approach, the Ranah and the widow called on all the Hindoo powers for aſſiſtance.

Sultan Mauzum arrived at Brampore in the beginning of January 1679, and advanced to Aurengabad, where he fixed his court. The ſtrict ſeverity of Sevagi's character, which permitted no relaxation either to himſelf or others from the occupations of war and government, had long grown irkſome to the headſtrong licentiouſneſs of his ſon Sambagi; who, what few had ever done, contrived his ſcheme and correſpondence without incurring the ſuſpicion of his father, and went off with two thouſand horſe from Rairee to Aurengabad, where he was expected and received by Sultan Mauzum with the utmoſt complacence.

At this time the Pitan Bullal Khan, miniſter and general of Viziapore, who had aſſaſſinated his predeceſſor in that ſtation, Cowis Cawn the Siddee, was himſelf aſſaſſinated; and

Serji

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Serji Khan, important by his domains, had acquired the principal influence in the ſtate. As new miniſters rarely adopt the ſyſtems of thoſe they ſucceed, Serji Khan yielded to the requiſitions of Sultan Mauzum, demanding the aſſiſtance of Viziapore againſt Sevagi, to which the defection of his ſon Sambagi was no little encouragement. Sevagi ſaw and met the ſtorm with his uſual intrepidity, and fixed himſelf with the beſt of his force in Pannela, his neareſt frontier to Viziapore, and the ſouthern parts of the Mogul Country.

This alacrity, with the approach of the rains, ſtopped the confederates from taking the field, until they had increaſed their preparations. Nor had the danger deterred or diverted Sevagi from other exertions; for, on his ſon's defection, a body of his troops from Rairee appeared and ravaged within ſight of Surat, and his preparations at ſea were continued with unabated endeavour and expence.

It was now ſeven years that he had been increaſing his fleet to become a match for the Siddees, or any other force againſt which he might be compelled, or chooſe to contend. None of his harbours admitted ſhips of a great ſize, ſuch as were uſed at Surat, or by the Europeans. The traffic from port to port of the malabar and northern coaſts, as well of the Concan, now his own, had from time immemorial been of great amount: but carried on in veſſels of ſhallow burthen, capable of taking cloſe refuge under every ſhelter of the land. The veſſels for fight, under the various denominations of pirates, which

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which have always infeſted theſe coaſts, were adapted to the conſtructions of the chaſe they were to follow, and truſted to the ſuperiority of number againſt ſhips of burthen in the open ſea. Sevagi did not change this ſyſtem in his own marine, and by this time had collected a fleet of twenty two-maſt grabs and forty gallivats.

The protection which the Siddees had given to Gingerah againſt the repeated attacks of Sevagi, as well as their frequent annoyances of his country, had been ſo much facilitated by their reſort to Bombay, that Sevagi at length determined to compel the Engliſh government to a ſtricter neutrality by repriſals on their own port. About ſix miles below the point of Tull lie two rocky iſlands, the one called Kenary, two miles and a half from the main; the other Hundry, at the diſtance of 1,200 yards. Kenary, which is the largeſt of the two, is only a mile and a half long and half a mile in breadth. Neither had ever been inhabited, and both were covered with wood, which ſometimes ſupplied Bombay with fuel; nor had they been deemed of any other utility, although no veſſel could enter or come out of the harbour, which might not be diſcerned from them in the day, and a light-houſe on Kenary would have aſcertained the navigation in the night.

Sevagi, whom no advantage eſcaped, ordered preparations during the ſtormy ſeaſon; and at the end of Auguſt, as ſoon as it began to abate, three hundred ſoldiers and as many labourers,

labourers, with arms and materials, paſſed from the main into the iſland of Kenary, and immediately began to raiſe breaſt works at the landing places. Bombay, when too late, ſaw the conſequences, and recollected a pretenſion to both the iſlands by the ceſſion of Portugal; which, the Portugueſe at Baſſein, equally alarmed, denied, and aſſerted an ancient right of their own, having formerly attempted to ſettle on Kenary, but finding the water came up ſalt in the wells they dug, deſiſted. Bombay at this time had no gallivats, which are veſſels conſtructed for ſwift ſailing: and therefore fitted three ſhibars or trading boats, which they armed with forty Europeans of the garriſon, who were ordered to prevent the landing of any veſſels from Sevagi's ſhore, and to ſummon his officer on the iſland to retire with his people; who anſwered that he ſhould never quit his ſtation until recalled by his maſter. After cruiſing ten days about the iſlands, hard weather drove the ſhibars back to Bombay, from whence they proceeded again to the iſland, reinforced by the Revenge, a frigate of ſixteen guns. The next day, which was the 19th of September, a Lieutenant, in a fit of drunkenneſs, landed with the men of his ſhibar, was killed with ſix other Europeans, the reſt made priſoners, and the ſhibar hauled up on the ſhore; all before any aſſiſtance could be given by the other veſſels, working againſt the wind and tide; which the enemy's boats by their conſtruction and oars were much better enabled to ſurmount; and for ſeveral nights following paſſed to and from

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from the iſland without interception. The officers on the ſervice imputed their ineffectual watch to the fewneſs of their veſſels, and the whole of Sevagi's armada were aſſembling at Chaul under the command of his admiral Dowlet Caun: on which the government of Bombay increaſed their force by hiring the veſſels they wanted, and on the 6th of October the fleet off Kenary conſiſted of the Revenge, as admiral, two grabs of two maſts, the three ſhibars, and two munchuas, a ſtronger kind of trading veſſel, in all eight; on board of which were two hundred European ſoldiers, which amounted to two-thirds of the garriſon of Bombay, beſides the ſeamen and laſcars of the crews.

On the 15th of October Dowlet Caun's fleet anchored cloſe to the ſhore a little to the north of Chaul, in ſight of Kenary, to which a number of his gallivats paſſed over in the enſuing night, and on the next returned to the main. At day-break of the next morning, which was the 18th, their whole fleet bore down firing from their prows, and advancing ſo faſt, that the Engliſh veſſels at anchor near the iſland, had ſcarcely time to get under weigh: in leſs than half an hour one of the Engliſh grabs, called the Dove, ſtruck, and was carried off; the other avoided this danger, and afterwards kept aloof, and the five ſail of ſhibars and munchuas ran away; ſo that the Revenge was left alone in the midſt of the enemy. She was commanded by captain Minchin, and had on board, as commodore of the whole fleet, Keigwin the commander of the garriſon,

garriſon, both men of courage; they beat off the enemy's gallivats which attempted to board, and ſunk five of them; on which the whole fleet, fifty veſſels, fled before this ſingle frigate, and were purſued into ſhoal water to the bar of Negotan; but ſeveral of their gallivats with recruits and ſtores had got into Kenary during the fight; which was intended to cover them. Two days after the enemy's fleet came out again from Negotan; but when the Engliſh advanced to meet them, returned into the river. SECT. I. 1679.

At this time 5,000 of Sevagi's troops, in expectation of better effects from their fleet, came down from Rairee to Gallian, and demanded, as once before, permiſſion of the Portugueſe government at Baſſein, to paſs at Tannah, in order to croſs at Mahim into Bombay; but were again refuſed. Nevertheleſs their continuance at Gallian created much ſolicitude, leſt the Portugueſe ſhould change their mind, or they get boats and paſs down from Gallian in the night, whilſt ſo great a part of the garriſon was abroad in the fleet; and this apprehenſion produced a negotiation with Rairee.

Notwithſtanding the increaſe of the Engliſh veſſels watching Kenary, it ſtill continued impoſſible to prevent the enemy's boats from paſſing it in the night: twelve paſſed on the 25th; five a few nights after; and although not ſo readily, all got ſafe back again. Cannon were now mounted in the iſland, and fired at the Engliſh veſſels; but, in ſeveral days, only one ſhot ſtruck, which killed a cooley; ſeveral gallivats were

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driven on ſhore near Negotan at different times, by the ſhibars or munchuas. Another frigate, of ſixteen guns, called the Hunter, which had come from Surat, and brought the preſident's guard of thirty-ſix Europeans, to reinforce Bombay, was ſent to the fleet, which then quitted their ſtations near Kenary, and anchored to block up the river of Negotan; but could not effectually; becauſe it has two outlets: on which Keigwin propoſed to enter, burn the enemy's fleet, and ravage the country; but the council at Bombay, and ſtill more the preſidency at Surat, were unwilling to riſque ſuch a provocation of Sevagi's reſentment, and were confirmed in this caution by the hope of ſeeing the quarrel taken off their hands.

The Mogul government at Surat were as much alarmed, as either the Engliſh or Portugueſe, at Sevagi's views on the ſea, whom they had hitherto only dreaded on ſhore; for, beſides the extenſive trade in many veſſels to various parts of the Eaſt Indies, ſeven or eight ſhips which traded to the red ſea, and the gulph of Perſia, annually brought back 500,000l. in gold and ſilver alone. The Siddee was equally anxious for the preſervation of his ſtrong hold of Gingerah, and by this concurrence of apprehenſions obtained the ſupplies of his equipment for the firſt time without grudge or regret, from the government of Surat. His fleet conſiſted of two large ſhips, three frigates of three maſts, and fifteen ſtout gallivats, in which, beſides the laſcars, were ſeven hundred excellent ſoldiers. They arrived at Bombay on the 10th of November,

and

and after conference with the council there, joined the company's fleet off Kenary, whoſe officers at the ſame time received cautious inſtructions.

Siddee Coſſim, having rowed round the iſland, propoſed to aſſault it with his own men, if the company's veſſels would cover the landing; but Keigwin diſcovered that he intended to keep it, if carried; and as Bombay might receive more detriment from it in his poſſeſſion, than from Sevagi's, evaded to give the aſſiſtance; on which the Siddee cannonaded the iſland from his two ſhips for ſeveral days, which was returned, but with no effect on either ſide: during which no firing paſſed between the company's fleet and the iſland. This warineſs confirmed what intelligence the Siddee had gained concerning the negotiation between Bombay and Sevagi, and in order to break it, he ſent off his gallivats in the night to attack the corlahs in the harbour; where they burnt four towns, and brought off the inhabitants for ſlaves. Single boats from the main continued to get into the iſland; and Dowlet Caun prepared to come out of Negotan with a numerous convoy laden with proviſions and ammunition: and all his grabs appeared one morning at the mouth of the river; but on the approach of the two fleets from their ſtations, went in again; the ſmaller veſſels were then left to block the outlets, but the Siddee fearing his own might be ſurpriſed, withdrew them; and the watch was continued by only two of the Company's. The firing was renewed between the Siddee and

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the iſland, and continued for thirteen days to the laſt of December with as little effect as before, and thus ſtood the quarrel at the end of the year 1679.

In September Sevagi came out of Pannela, with what force for the field he had kept there during the rains, and joined 20,000 horſe, which Morah Pundit had collected, waiting for him at the foot of the weſtern ſide of the ridge; they proceeded towards Viziapore, whoſe forces were joined by the Mogul's army from Aurengabad under the conduct of Delhire Khan; Sambagi was likewiſe with them, and in a general battle which enſued, his enſigns were diſplayed againſt his father's. The conteſt was ſharp: on Sevagi's ſide two thouſand Morattoes were ſlain, and as many ſurrendered. His enemies claimed the victory, which he confirmed by retreating to Rairee, where he arrived in the beginning of November.

This was the only defeat of his life, but he ſoon diſpelled the reproach, which he had willingly encouraged. A powerful Rajah in Berar, aggrieved by the Mogul government, confederated with him for their mutual revenge; and in the beginning of December Sevagi ſet off from Rairee with a choſen body of horſe, and ſuddenly appeared in the country between Aurengabad and Brampore, where, joined with the forces of the Rajah, they committed all kind of devaſtation: Dongong, where the Engliſh had factors, Chupra, and other great marts, were again plundered, and Brampore ſhut its gates. At the ſame time Morah Pundit, with another body of horſe, proceeded

n. 57.

proceeded along the weſtern ſide of the mountains, and ravaged towards Surat: Sevagi returned to Rairee with his booty at the end of the year, but Morah Pundit with his diviſion kept the field. SECT. I. 1679.

In the mean time Aurengzebe was carrying on the war againſt the Ranah of Chitore, and the Rajah of Marwar, who on the approach of his army at the end of the preceding year, 1678, had abandoned the acceſſible country, and drew their herds and inhabitants into the vallies, within the mountains; the army advanced amongſt the defiles with incredible labour, and with ſo little intelligence, that the diviſion which moved with Aurengzebe himſelf, was unexpectedly ſtopped by inſuperable defences and precipices in front; whilſt the Rajpoots in one night cloſed the ſtreights in his rear, by felling the overhanging trees; and from their ſtations above, prevented all endeavours of the troops either within or without, from removing the obſtacle. Udeperri the favorite and Circaſſian wife of Aurengzebe accompanied him in this arduous war, and with her retinue and eſcort was encloſed in another part of the mountains; her conductors, dreading to expoſe her perſon to danger or public view, ſurrendered. She was carried to the Ranah, who received her with homage, and every attention. Meanwhile the emperor himſelf might have periſhed by famine, of which the Ranah let him ſee the riſque, by a confinement of two days; when he ordered his Rajpoots to withdraw from their ſtations, and ſuffer the way

to

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to be cleared. As ſoon as Aurengzebe was out of danger, the Ranah ſent back his wife, accompanied by a choſen eſcort, who only requeſted in return, that he would refrain from deſtroying the ſacred animals of their religion, which might ſtill be left in the plains; but Aurengzebe, who believed in no virtue but ſelf-intereſt, imputed the generoſity and forbearance of the Ranah to the fear of future vengeance, and continued the war. Soon after, he was again well nigh encloſed in the mountains. This ſecond experience of difficulties beyond his age and conſtitution, and the arrival of his ſons, Azim and Acbar, determined him not to expoſe himſelf any longer in the field; but to leave its operations to their conduct, ſuperintended by his own inſtructions from Azmir; to which city he retired with the houſeholds of his family, the officers of his court, and his body-guard of 4,000 men, dividing the army between his two ſons, who each had brought a conſiderable body of troops from their reſpective governments. They continued the war each in a different part of the country, and neither at the end of the year had forced the ultimate paſſes of the mountains.

The confederates in Viziapore, after Sevagi's retreat, attacked ſome of the towns in this country which he had formerly reduced. Amongſt others, they ſacked Huttany, a very conſiderable mart; and Dellire Khan propoſed to ſell the inhabitants, who were Hindoos, for ſlaves; but Serji Khan the general of Viziapore wiſhed to preſerve them as recovered ſubjects;

n. 58.

ſubjects; and Sambagi ſtill more ſacredly, as being of his own religion; but the two mahomedans agreed, and Sambagi in deteſtation of co-operating any longer with ſuch allies, went off with his troops, which were 400 horſe, and 1,000 foot, to his father's fort of Pannela, who ordered his admiſſion, and went to meet him at the end of the year, when they were reconciled; and Sevagi, leaving him in the command of Pannela, returned to Rairee: Morah Pundit ſtill continued towards Surat, but refrained from any ſtrenuous exertion, leſt his aſſiſtance ſhould be required by the future operations of Sevagi. SECT. I. 1679.

The Siddee continued his daily battery againſt Kenary, until the 9th of January, when, without intimating his deſign to the Engliſh captains, he anchored his fleet at Hundry, the other iſland, on which he landed men and cannon, and declared his intention of fortifying it, as a check on Kenary. Four days after Dowlet Caun came out, with all his veſſels, from the river of Negotan, and a general engagement enſued with little damage, for it was over before the Engliſh could take any ſhare in it. Dowlet Caun then brought guns to a riſing ground on the main land oppoſite Hundry, againſt which they fired, and were anſwered as well by the Siddee's ſhips as the guns in the iſland: this cannonade continued ſeveral days. On the 27th Dowlet Caun came out again with the whole fleet and engaged the Siddee's for four hours, until he had loſt four grabs, and as many of the ſmaller veſſels, 1680.

with

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with 500 men killed and wounded, beſides the priſoners; and was himſelf ſeverely wounded. The Siddee loſt no veſſels, and had only ten men killed; ſuch was the advantage of his ſhips over the opener and more ſlender veſſels of the enemy; whoſe grabs, with their wounded admiral, leaving their gallivats to the neighbouring rivers, bore away after the engagement, to refit at Rajapore, which is one hundred miles to the ſouth of Negotan.

This while the negotiation had been carrying on at Bombay with an ambaſſador ſent on purpoſe from Rairee, and leſt that he ſhould think that this ſucceſs of the Siddee was acceptable to the council, they immediately recalled their own fleet. The Siddee tried again to break off the treaty, by ſending the grabs he had taken to be ſold in Bombay, and being refuſed the permiſſion, entered the harbour on the 27th of February with his whole fleet, and detached his gallivats, crowded with men, into the river Penn, which they went up as far as the depth permitted, burning all the towns and villages on either hand, and brought away near a thouſand of the inhabitants. Nevertheleſs the treaty was concluded in the middle of March: it confirmed that of 1674 made by Mr. Oxenden, and promiſed immediate payment of what remained due of the compenſation then allowed for the company's loſſes at the ſack of Rajapore in 1673. The Engliſh agreed not to permit the Siddee's fleet to winter in the harbour, but under the condition of not attacking the oppoſite ſhores.

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1680.

In this interval Sevagi was gone from Rairee, but no one knew whither; a convoy of money to a great amount was coming to Aurengabad, of which, as of every thing concerning his enemy, he received early intelligence; and taking his time before his intentions could be ſuſpected, iſſued with a detachment of his hardieſt cavalry, remote from all the Mogul's ſtations, and fell upon the convoy before his approach was known, within a few miles of Brampore, where it would have been ſafe, until ſent forward with ſtronger eſcort. He ſeized the whole, and brought it without interruption and the ſame rapidity to Rairee. But the purchaſe was dearly earned; for the exceſſive ſtrain of fatigue, greater than any he had endured ſince his eſcape from Delhi, cauſed an inflammation in his breaſt, attended with ſpitting of blood: his diſ- *n.* 59. order, although increaſing every day, was kept ſecret within his palace at Rairee; and if it had been publiſhed would not have been believed, ſince he had more than once ſent abroad reports of his death, at the very time he was ſetting out on ſome ſignal excurſion; and at this very time his army towards Surat, which he probably intended to have joined, were acting with ſuch ravage and hoſtility up to the walls, that the city imagined Sevagi himſelf was commanding in perſon; and expected an aſſault with ſo much terror, that the Engliſh preſidency ſent off the treaſure of their factory acroſs the river, to the marine of Swally, where lay ſome of their ſhips; and the governor of the town redeemed his fears by a large

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contribution; with which Morah Pundit returned to Rairee, to ſee his maſter die. He expired on the 5th of April, 1680, and in the 52d year of his age. His funeral pile was adminiſtered with the ſame ſacrifices as had been devoted the year before to the obſequies of the Maha Rajah, Jeſſwont Sing, of Joudpore: attendants, animals, and wives, were burnt with his corpse.

n. 60.

The name of his family was Bonſolo, which claiming their deſcent from ancient princes of the Rajpoot nation, were exempted (we ſuppoſe in convenience to military exertions) from ſome of the ſtricter obſervances of the general religion; from which, nevertheleſs, he never deviated for the ſake of indulgences, and affected the deepeſt reverence to his bramins, undertaking no expedition without their auſpices; and was as punctual in his private devotions, as aſſiduous in the ceremonies of public worſhip; it ſhould ſeem from conviction; but whether ſo or no, his practice gained the public reſpect: and as he delighted in every occaſion of throwing defiance againſt Aurengzebe, he frequently ſtyled himſelf, in his correſpondence and manifeſtos, the champion of the Hindoo gods againſt the ſanguinary violator of their temples; which, with his own example, ſharpened the antipathy of his troops againſt the Mogul's, whom they deemed it religious retaliation to deſtroy.

His private life was ſimple, even to parſimony; his manners void of inſolence or oſtentation; as a ſovereign he was humane,

mane, and ſolicitous for the well being of his people, as ſoon as aſſured of their obedience; for he gathered them as we have ſeen by degrees. 1680.

Conflicting againſt the Mogul, Viziapore, and Golcondah, the revenues of his own territories, all wreſted from their dominions, were not ſufficient to ſupply the means of maintaining effectual war againſt ſuch rich and mighty powers; but his genius created the reſources which nature had denied. The cavalry of the three Mahomedan ſtates were always drawn from the northern countries and borders of India with eſpecial regard to the ſtrength and ſize, as well of the riders as their horſes, whoſe pampered maintenance was of vaſt expenſe; but their ſhock was not to be reſiſted by any of the native cavalry to the ſouth of Delhi, and all the conqueſts made by the Mahomedans in this lower region may be imputed to this unequal deciſion. Sevagi firſt diſcerned and provided the equivalent oppoſition, by eſtabliſhing a cavalry, of which the requiſites were agility and endurance of fatigue: many muſt have periſhed in the probation, but beſides the ſupplies of purchaſe and capture, broods were raiſed from the moſt approved*. The horſe without a ſaddle was rode by a man without cloths, whoſe conſtant weapon was a truſty

n. 61.

* Navarette inſerts, "I was told at Surat, the Subagi Mogul (Sevagi was far from a Mogul) was extraordinarily careful that no woman ſhould be in his army; and, if he happened to find one, he immediately turned her out, firſt cutting off her hair and ears. This to prevent the effects of ſenſuality on the alertneſs and activity of his troops, for the ſame reaſon as the Tartars."

SECT. I. 1680.

ſabre; footmen enured to the ſame travel, and bearing all kind of arms trooped with the horſe: ſpare horſes to bring off the booty, and relieve the wearied or wounded. All gathered their daily proviſions as they paſſed. No purſuit could reach their march; in conflict their onſet fell whereſoever they choſe, and was relinquiſhed even in the inſtant of charge. Whole diſtricts were in flames before their approach was known, as a terror to others to redeem the ravage. Nor were they ſo wanton in bloodſhed as reported by affright; but gave no quarter to reſiſtance or interruption: in the towns they only ſought the wealthy inhabitants to carry them off for future ranſom. Such was their war of plunder. In regular campaigns, in which fortreſſes were to be reduced, they muſt have moved with the uſual incumbrances; but Sevagi ſeems to have beſieged none at an inconvenient diſtance from others of which he was in poſſeſſion; excepting when he invaded the Carnatic, of which we have acquired no circumſtances.

We are not appriſed in what manner he ſatisfied and paid his ſoldiery and their officers; but believe with portions of the cumbrous plunder, grain, land, honour, privileges, exemptions, and very little ready money, for the continual influx of treaſure from his predatory excurſions raiſed the fame of the caves of Rairee to a proverbial ſymbol of eaſtern wealth, as a repoſitory from which nothing returned. Nevertheleſs nothing neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his operations was ſtinted, and what

capture

capture did not furniſh was procured by purchaſe. He ſpared no coſt to obtain intelligence of all the motions and intentions of his enemy, and even of minuter import; for his detachments always knew the opulent houſes of the towns they attacked, and often the very cell in which the treaſure they ſought was buried; he was ſtill more profuſe in corrupting the generals with whom he contended; the Mogul's governors of Surat, his Subahs in the Decan, and even Sultan Mauzum his ſon, and the heir of his empire, had more than once accepted the gold of connivance from Sevagi. SECT. I. 1680.

The ſame principles of frugality and expenſe were obſerved in the municipal diſburſements of his government: for ſuperior himſelf to magnificence, none of his officers were led to expect more than competence; but nothing was ſpared which might contribute to the internal defence of his country. Regular fortifications, well armed and garriſoned, barred the opener approaches; every paſs was commanded by forts; and, in the cloſer defiles, every ſteep and overhanging rock was occupied as a ſtation to roll down great maſſes of ſtone, which made their way to the bottom, and became the moſt effectual annoyance to the labouring march of cavalry, elephants, and carriages. It is ſaid that he left three hundred and fifty of theſe poſts in the Concan alone.

SEVAGI poſſeſſed all the qualities of command: every influence, howſoever latent, was combined in his ſchemes, which generally comprehended the option of more than one ſucceſs;

ſo

SECT. I. 1680. n. 62.

ſo that his intention could rarely be aſcertained, and when accompliſhed, did not diſcover the extent of its advantages, until developed by ſubſequent acquiſitions. In perſonal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record; for no partizan appropriated to ſervices of detachment alone, ever traverſed as much ground as he at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril, howſoever ſudden and extreme, with inſtant diſcernment, and unſhaken fortitude; the ableſt of his officers acquieſced to the eminent ſuperiority of his genius; and the boaſt of the ſoldier was to have ſeen Sevagi charging ſword in hand.

Thus reſpected, as the guardian of the nation he had formed, he moved every where amongſt them with unſuſpicious ſecurity, and often alone; whilſt his wiles were the continual terror of the princes with whom he was at enmity, even in the midſt of their citadels and armies. Whenſoever we ſhall obtain a hiſtory of his life, written in his own country, he will doubtleſs appear to have poſſeſſed the higheſt reſources of ſtratagem, joined to undaunted courage; which, although equal to the encounter of any danger, always preferred to ſurmount it by circumvention; which, if impracticable, no arm exceeded his in open daring. Gallantry muſt lament that it ſhould once have been ſtained by the blood of aſſaſſination.

Aurengzebe could not ſuppreſs the emotions of his joy on hearing of Sevagi's death, nor the juſtice due to his character, which he had denied during his life. "He was," he ſaid,

"a great

"a great captain, and the only one who has had the magna- SECT.
"nimity to raiſe a new kingdom, whilſt I have been endeavour- I.
"ing to deſtroy the ancient ſovereignties of India; my armies 1680.
"have been employed againſt him for nineteen years, and,
"nevertheleſs, his ſtate has been always increaſing." n. 63.

This ſtate compriſed, on the weſtern ſide of India, all the n. 64.
coaſt with the back country of the hills from the river Mirzeou to Verſal; excepting the ſmall territory of Goa to the ſouth, Bombay, Salcette, and the Portugueſe country between Baſſein and Daman to the north. Along the other ſide of the ridge, all, as far as the mountains continued to the weſtward, likewiſe belonged to Sevagi. The whole, at a general n. 65.
amount, may be eſteemed four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth: at the diſtance of three hundred miles from this dominion, he was in poſſeſſion, towards the eaſtern ſea, of half the Carnatic, which alone equalled moſt of the Rajahſhips of India; all acquired by his own abilities from an origin of little note; and left at his deceaſe a permanent ſovereignty, eſtabliſhed on communion of manners, cuſtoms, obſervances, language, and religion, united in common defence againſt the tyranny of foreign conquerors, from whom they had recovered the land of their own inheritance.

SAMBAGI was at Pannela when his father died; his younger brother Ram Rajah at Rairee, whom Anagi Pundit the ſecond miniſter, and rival of Morah Pundit the firſt,

endeavoured

SECT. I. 1680.

endeavoured by the warrant, or ſome expreſſion of Sevagi, to eſtabliſh in the ſovereignty; but Morah Pundit was ſupported in the preference of Sambagi by the greateſt part of the ſoldiery, who had been the companions of his valour and activity in the field, which put an end to Anagi Pundit's intrigue, and he went with Morah Pundit to pay homage to Sambagi at Pannela, who immediately confined him in irons, and came to Rairee, eſcorted by 5,000 horſe, in the beginning of July, where he met his brother with kindneſs, and ordered the general rendezvous of the army.

The Siddee, having ſecured the continuance of his own works on the iſland Hundry, deſiſted from further attack on Sevagi's at Kenary, and ſent a part of his ſoldiery with ſome of the ſmaller veſſels to harbour at Mazagong, and with the larger cruiſed about Dunda Rajapore. At this time the government of Surat, by the eſpecial order of Aurengzebe, increaſed the duties of all the European imports from two to three-and-a-half per cent, which was intended to equal their rates to the poll tax eſtabliſhed on all his ſubjects, not Mahomedans, in the empire. This aggrievance encouraged the inſolence of the Siddee's people at Bombay. They executed their own juſtice on the inhabitants, and again brought ſome of the people they had taken on Sevagi's ſhores to ſell as ſlaves in the iſland; but the council releaſed all they got notice of, which were twenty-one perſons, men, women, and children, who, when produced, were nearly reduced to death by hunger.

This

This happened on the 28th of April: on the 4th of May ſome of their people were carrying contraband goods, which the guards of the cuſtom-houſe ſtopped at Mazagong, and a fray enſued, in which ſeveral on both ſides were wounded. The next day Siddee Coſſim himſelf came into the harbour with the main body of his fleet, and anchored off the fort without compliment or warning, on which guns were fired on his ſhips, which forced them to a farther diſtance, and produced a diſcuſſion, which at length terminated by the Siddee's conſent to refrain from the invaſion of the corlahs, conformably to the engagements lately made by the council with Sevagi; but their continuing in the harbour gave ſo much umbrage to Sambagi, that he ſent down troops to the ſhore, who ſet to work in preparing means to burn their fleet, but continually deferred the attempt.

On the firſt of Auguſt two hundred of their men in boats, and a dark night, landed on the iſland of Kenary, and got within the works before they were diſcovered, but the Siddee's men gathered with reſolution, and either took or killed the greateſt part. Eighty heads were brought in baſkets to Mazagong, where Siddee Coſſim prepared to fix them along the ſhore on poles, but was interdicted by the council. The ill ſucceſs and intended inſult increaſed the reſentment of Sambagi: he ſent more troops to the corlahs, and threatened the invaſion of Bombay, which reinforced its out-poſts towards Gallian; at length he demanded to confer with an ambaſſador,

SECT. I. 1680. whom, on account of the expenſe, the preſidency at Surat would not ſend; on which Sambagi ſent his own to the iſland, by name Augee Pundit, a very ſhrewd man, of long ſervice and high eſteem with Sevagi; he was treated with great reſpect, and procured every kind of intelligence concerning the ſtrength and defences of the iſland, and ſaw the Siddee's fleet; which, wanting money, continued in the harbour until the 22d of December, when they ſailed down the coaſt, intending to make a deſcent again at Vingorlah; but Sambagi had increaſed his fleet to ſixty ſail, and reinforced it with 5,000 ſoldiers, which nevertheleſs could not reſiſt the battery 1681. of the Siddee's, but ſailed much better, and could anchor in much ſhoaler water; of which advantages Dowlet Caun availed himſelf; and reſtricted his operations to obſervation, which deterred the Siddee from attempting to ravage any part of the coaſt; ſo that after various chaſes, and accidental fights between the ſmaller veſſels, the ſeaſon cloſed without any of conſequence, and the Siddee returned to Bombay towards the end of April: from whence he ſailed for Surat on the 3d of May, leaving five hundred men on his iſland of Hundry, and ſix gallivats with three hundred men at Mazagong.

We left Aurengzebe in the beginning of the year 1680 at Azmir, directing the war againſt the Rajpoots, carried on by two different armies under the command of his ſons Azim, and Acbar. Soon after, if we can arrange aright, the army of Azim took the vaſt and ruined city of Chitore by ſurpriſe: it had

had been taken about a century before by the emperor Acbar, who defaced or demoliſhed all the edifices of religion and regality, which in the ſucceſſion of one thouſand years had elevated its reputation above all the weſtern cities of Indoſtan. On this diſaſter, the Ranah then reigning removed his reſidence and the ſeat of government to Oudipore, where it had continued ever ſince. Chitore, nevertheleſs, did not then loſe all its inhabitants, and the number had been increaſing until this ſecond expulſion, but was nothing near ſo great as when taken by Acbar; Aurengzebe deſtroyed all the objects of Hindoo worſhip, and every dwelling which had ſince been either raiſed or reſtored. The capture, nevertheleſs, did not forward the reduction of the Ranah; for the farther mountains, which environed his reſidence at Oudipore were inſuperable, and the prophanation of Chitore, increaſed the deſperate defence of the Rajpoots of both principalities. SECT. I. 1681.

All the ſons of Aurengzebe were brave; but Sultan Mauzum had acquired the love of the ſoldiery by his generoſity and humanity; who perceived little of theſe virtues either in his father or brothers; whoſe jealouſy this preference raiſed, which Sultan Mauzum knew; and when ſent into the Decan, foreſaw that any ſignal ſucceſs obtained under his immediate command in the field, would aggravate their latent averſions; and on the other hand that the failure would be imputed to his miſconduct alone. In this dilemma, he choſe the middle mode of acting as the vicegerent of the emperor in the general ſuper-

SECT. I. 1681.

intendency of the province; but left the command of the army to Delhire Khan; who was charged to watch all his proceedings. Nevertheleſs, the ſultans Azim and Acbar exaggerated the inefficacy of the war againſt Sevagi; from which Aurengzebe received ſome conſolation, as palliating the failure of his own againſt the Rajpoots; but ordered Sultan Mauzum to perſevere with more activity. Soon after happened the death of Sevagi, when Aurengzebe, not expecting the ſame oppoſition from his ſucceſſor, recalled Sultan Mauzum and Delhire Khan with the army which had accompanied them into the Decan; and they advanced to Chitore; ſo that the whole force of the empire, which could with prudence be collected to one deſtination, was now employed againſt the two Rajpoot Rajahs, under the command of the three ſons of the emperor, and his own inſpection.

n. 66. Acbar was reſtleſs, turbulent, arrogant, and miſchievous; hating his brothers Mauzum and Azim, as his elders; his father ſtill more, for not preferring his own to their better pretenſions to his favour. His army was employed againſt Joudpore, and lay nearer than the other two to Azmir, where Aurengzebe had reſerved for his guard only 4,000, but of his beſt troops. The widow of Joudpore, appriſed of the character of Acbar, proffered the aſſiſtance of 30,000 Rajpoots, to ſeize the emperor, and proclaim himſelf. The offer was accepted, and the widow raiſed a belief that ſhe was aſſembling the ban of her country, to aſſiſt the Ranah with the ſurplus of her

her own defence. The negotiation was kept concealed until Acbar communicated it to his aſtrologer, for the choice of a lucky day. The aſtrologer appriſed Sultan Mauzum; who was perplexed, whether it might not be a contrivance of his father, to try his fidelity; or ſhould the revolt be intended, and yet not take effect, leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected of ill will to his brother; he however ſent the intelligence; to which Aurengzebe gave no credit, until he received it likewiſe from the aſtrologer. No time was to be loſt, for the Rajpoots had joined; and to gain a day, Aurengzebe wrote an exhortation of filial piety to Acbar, which was anſwered by an invective of defiance. The armies of Sultan Mauzum and Azim were advancing haſtily to his aid; but Acbar was two days nearer, and within one of Azmir; this day was the 11th of January 1681. Aurengzebe bribed the aſtrologer to proſcribe it, and contrived a letter to be intercepted by the commander of the Rajpoots, exhorting Acbar to perſevere in the plan of expoſing them in front, and of falling upon their rear, during the intended attack of Aurengzebe's camp. The advice correſponded with the reſolve of the laſt council of war, of which Aurengzebe had acquired intelligence, "That the "Rajpoots ſhould commence the aſſault, and Acbar ſupport "them with the Mogul troops." This concurrence, with the remembrance of the former colluſion between Aurengzebe and his ſon Sultan Mauzum in the Decan, to inveigle Sevagi, ſtamped invincible ſuſpicion; and the ſame night the Rajpoots marched

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n. 67.

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marched away to their own country, which ſpread ſuch trepidation in Acbar's army, as diſabled him from taking revenge of their deſertion; he upbraided all the officers of his council, and eſpecially accuſed the aſtrologer, who was not to be found; his general, Teaver Caun, wounded by the diſappointment of a ſcheme he had earneſtly promoted, as much as by the imputation againſt his honour, proffered with the ferocity of his nation (for he was a Pitan) to aſſaſſinate Aurengzebe before the enſuing noon. He ſet off, to certain death, with alacrity, and a few attendants; arrived at the camp before the ſun, or intelligence of the retreat of the Rajpoots; announced himſelf as a fugitive from Acbar, returning to his duty to his ſovereign, with information of near and immediate importance; and being well known, was permitted to paſs to the pavilions of Aurengzebe, who was aſleep; and the weather being very cold, the guard had retired to their room, leaving only a ſingle centinel at the entrance to Aurengzebe's apartment, by whom Teaver Caun was ſtopt, until the chamberlain came, who ordered him to deliver his ſword and dagger before he could be admitted to the preſence of the emperor: he refuſed; high words enſued; and he attacked the chamberlain with the advantage of a coat of mail under his garment; the guards came in on the firſt outcry, againſt whom he defended himſelf deſperately, until felled with many wounds.

n. 68.

The news of his death, and the cauſe, carried diſmay through the camp of Acbar, not yet recovered from their

former conſternation; bands on all ſides marched away, ſcarcely determined what to do, but moſt determined to atone for the revolt by returning to the ſtandard of the emperor. Acbar put his treaſure, with his infant ſon and daughter and the females of his family, on his elephants and camels, and accompanied by his domeſtics on horſeback, ſtruck to the mountains of the Maha Rajah, into which he was admitted with reſpect. The general, convinced that he had been deceived by the artifice of Aurengzebe, apologized; and the widow offered him retreat, or aſſiſtance, at his choice. But Acbar only accepted the ſervice of five hundred Rajpoots, and the protection of the ſtate to his children and family, whom he left at Joudpore, and departed to the country adjoining to the peninſula of Guzerat, which is likewiſe poſſeſſed by Rajpoots under ſeveral petty Rajahs, but in ſtrong ſituations.

SECT. I. 1681. n. 69. n. 69*.

Sultan Mauzum was ordered to follow Acbar, and not to quit the purſuit, until he had taken him; which, knowing his own eſtimation, and the duplicity of his father, he deemed a dangerous commiſſion; ſince, if Acbar ſhould fall in action, his death might be imputed to the earneſtneſs of removing a rival: he ventured to explain the dilemma; which Aurengzebe affected not to take amiſs, and indemnified the conſequence; Acbar was ſoon after ſurrounded in a ſituation, capable of extreme defence, but from which, if properly watched, he could not eſcape, ſo that famine ſeemed the umpire, againſt which Acbar was likewiſe provided. Mauzum, to ſave time,

offered

SECT. I. 1681.

offered him full pardon, and reſtoration to the favour of their father, from whom he had received the ſilver chains, with which Acbar was to be fettered, who pretended that the Rajpoots would prevent his eſcape, until he had diſcharged the arrears of their pay. The ſtory ſays, that Sultan Mauzum ſent him 40,000 gold mohurs; which, if true, proves the high honour of the Rajpoots; ſince the obvious uſe of the money was to have ſent it to them, if they could have been bribed to betray their ward. They ſeconded Acbar in a puſh through Mauzum's circumvallation, which ſeems to have been purpoſely neglected, and eſcaped with him to the Coolies on the river Mihie, which diſembogues at Cambay, from whence he ſent forward the recommendations of the Ranah, and Joudpore to Sambagi, who immediately invited him into his country; on which Acbar, travelling whilſt the army of Bahadar Khan was retired into winter quarters, arrived on the 1ſt of June at Pawlee Gur, a fort and town at the foot of the Gauts, a day's journey from the ſhore oppoſite to Bombay. His retinue was four hundred Rajpoots mounted, a few well armed on foot, and two hundred and fifty camels carrying his baggage, women, and treaſures.

n. 70.

Sambagi was then at Pannela; but his principal officers at Rairee came down and preſented one thouſand gold mohurs as a teſtimony of his homage, which Acbar diſtributed amongſt his Rajpoots. None ſat in his preſence, as Sambagi had declared he himſelf never ſhould. The whole country flocked

flocked in to pay him obeiſance, as if he had been the Mogul; all the proviſions of his men and animals were daily ſupplied in abundance and without coſt; and whilſt waiting the viſit of Sambagi he was continually joined by parties of cavalry, whom he enliſted, and at the end of Auguſt had five thouſand in his own pay. Whilſt others admired why Sambagi did not come, Acbar knew the cauſe of his continuance at Pannela. SECT. I. 1681.

The miniſter Anagi Pundit, although impriſoned, continued to lead the faction which had endeavoured to give the ſucceſſion to Ramrajah, and was abetted by his mother. On Acbar's arrival in the Concan, they tendered him the ſovereignty of all Sevagi's dominions, reſerving a proviſion for Ramrajah, provided Acbar would declare againſt Sambagi, of whom they undertook to get rid. Accordingly his meal was poiſoned, but diſcovered to him by an infant, and proved on a dog. Soon after Sambagi received intelligence from Acbar of the overtures which had been made to him by the conſpirators, on which he put to death Anagi Pundit, Harji Pharſang, and five others; they were trampled by elephants; twenty more awaited the ſame fate. Ramrajah was ſent to *n.* 71. reſide in one of the forts of the Carnatic with a decent appanage, but without any power in the government. Some time after his mother died, it is ſuppoſed, by the procurement of Sambagi; who in September came to Pawlee Gur, and paid his perſonal homage, with great reſpect, to Acbar, whom he

SECT. I. 1681.

then conducted to Rairee, giving out that he intended to accompany him with 30,000 horſe, to Brampore, and there proclaim him emperor of the Moguls. But the boaſt was ſcarcely made before its execution became impracticable.

The eſcape of Acbar to Sambagi oppreſſed Aurengzebe with as much anxiety as formerly the phantom of his brother Sujah amongſt the Pitans; and the conſequences of their alliance became a nearer care than the continuance of the war againſt the Rajpoots, whoſe gallant activity precluded any ſpeedy deciſion of the ſword; but the dignity of the throne forbad any overtures of peace to a reſiſtance which had even attempted the depoſal, if not the life, of the monarch. A Rajpoot officer, who had long ſerved with diſtinction under Delhire Khan, ſolved the difficulty; he quitted the army on the pretence of retiring with what he had acquired, to paſs the remainder of his life in his own country, and viſited the Ranah, as from courteſy, on his journey; the converſation turned on the war, which the Rajpoot perhaps really lamented, and perſuaded the Ranah, that although Aurengzebe would never condeſcend to make, he might accept, overtures of peace; on which he was empowered by the Ranah to tender them. The rains having stopped immediate operations in the Decan, Aurengzebe, to avoid the appearance of eagerneſs or neceſſity, protracted the negotiation until the army could move, and then concluded the treaty without aſſertion or releaſe of the capitation tax; but with the ſurrender of the

diſtricts

diſtricts of Meirdah, which had been taken from Chitore by Shah Jehan: the ſtate of Joudpore was likewiſe included in the Ranah's, or had a ſeparate treaty. In the month of September Aurengzebe began to move from Azmir, and ſent forward the two armies commanded by his ſons the Sultans Mauzum and Azim: the three armies arrived at their intended ſtations nearly at the ſame time, in the middle of November; Sultan Azim's at Ahmednagur, Mauzum's at Aurengabad, and Aurengzebe himſelf at Brampore; from whence he ſent orders to hire more ſhips at Surat, which were to reinforce his own and the Siddee's fleet acting againſt the fleet and ſhores of Sambagi, whilſt the armies ſhould attack his mountains. 1681.

In the mean time the Siddee's gallivats at Hundry, in the various intervals of fair weather during the monſoon, attacked the boats of Bombay going to the Corlahs, and were puniſhed by their commander for what they had not been able to take. The council of Bombay, to avoid the neceſſity of revenging theſe inſults on the men at Mazagong, referred their complaints to Surat. Twenty-two of Sambagi's gallivats were ſheltered in the river Negotan; and in the middle of July came down four thouſand men from Rairee, who, after waiting a month for fair weather, ſailed over to Hundry; but were beaten off with loſs, after a fight of four hours. The Siddee's gallivats at Bombay, elated with this ſucceſs, ſailed over to the Corlahs, and brought away ſome of the principal inhabitants, who had purchaſed their protection by an annual tribute,

SECT. I. 1681.

bute, equal to what they paid the government of Rairee; and although ſeveral of them, as well as the Siddees, were Mahomedans, they were carried to Hundry and beaten unmercifully, until they deputed one to fetch a ranſom of eighteen thouſand rupees. As this injury originated in Bombay, where ſome of the Siddees, beſides their occaſional reſidence, had purchaſed houſes, and eſtabliſhed their families, Sambagi's phouſdar, or governor on the main, remonſtrated to the council; whoſe expoſtulations with the Siddees availed ſo little, that a few days after they brought a large veſſel which they had taken in the Corlahs, in open day close under the fort, from whence it was immediately reſcued by the boats on guard.

In the mean Siddee Coſſim, to oppoſe the complaints of the preſidency at Surat, inſtigated the crews of his ſhips in the river, to demand juſtice, although ſixteen months had paſſed, for the value of the twenty-one miſerable priſoners which the council of Bombay had obliged them to ſurrender; and the governor encouraged them to beſet the Engliſh factory, which took up arms, and pointed four field-pieces at the gate, which was kept ſhut for two days, when the confuſion was diſſipated by the governor's order, who received a preſent for this interference of his authority to quell the danger he had abetted; the ſame influence procured his injunction to the Siddee's people at Bombay, to refrain from farther offences, and they continued quiet until the end of October,

when

when Siddee Coſſim appeared off the harbour, but with little increaſe of his former force, for the Mogul's orders to arm more ſhips had not yet arrived at Surat; but his approach to the Decan was known, and raiſed the inſolence of all his officers with whom the Engliſh had any concern. Accordingly the Siddee, when preſſed by the council of Bombay to refrain from depredations on the Corlahs, or hoſtilities within the harbour, denied that he had received any ſuch orders at Surat, and cruized daily, within and without, on all veſſels trading to any part of Sambagi's country, and even detained one belonging to Bombay which had bought his own paſs. All this while he occupied the town of Mazagong, and every advantage of the port without controul; for the concern of lading the company's ſhips at Surat precluded any effectual oppoſition to his enormities, which were increaſed by the forbearance. SECT. I. 1681.

On the 7th of December he ſent all his gallivats into the Corlahs, where they burnt the town of Abita, which had recovered from the like deſolation in the year 1673: a few days after, the whole fleet went down to Chaul, and, paſſing the Portugueſe fort at the mouth of the river without offence, ravaged a large tract of the adjacent country; but were not able to aſſault the town of Upper Chaul, belonging to Sambagi; nor was the town able to oppoſe them in the field. On this provocation Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Acbar, came down from Rairee, with 20,000 men and a vaſt train of cannon, to Dunda Rajahpore, in the beginning of January; and, 1682.

from

SECT. I. 1682.

from the hill oppoſite to Gingerah, battered inceſſantly for thirty days, until all the oppoſite fortifications were levelled; but a rock in the middle of the iſland ſheltered the garriſon, which was commanded by a gallant officer, named Siddee Curry; and Siddee Coſſim, with his ſhips, plying daily into the bay, deterred Sambagi's fleet from approaching to tranſport his troops to the attack, who continued on the main without a ſingle boat: but Sambagi, bent on his object, reſolved to fill up the channel, although eight hundred yards broad, and thirty deep, with ſtones and fragments of rock. The idea was great, and not impracticable by the labour of 50,000 men in a hundred days; and ſo many of the fair ſeaſon remained; but the mound would not have withſtood the heavy and outrageous ſeas of the ſtormy monſoon.

The army which Sultan Mauzum had led to Aurengabad in the preceding November had joined the camp at Jenneahgur, from whence a general named Huſſein Ally was ſent with 20,000 horſe and 15,000 foot, to reduce Sambagi's country towards Salcette and Bombay. They forced the Gauts of Decir after ſome reſiſtance, leſs than they expected, and encamped at Gallian on the 4th of February, having, to their own future detriment, deſtroyed all the extenſive and fair cultivation of the plain within reach of their excurſions.

Sambagi immediately returned with Sultan Acbar from Dunda Rajahpore to Rairee; but left a conſiderable body of troops to continue the attack on Gingerah, which he quitted

himſelf with much deſpite againſt the cauſes of his diſappointment. He threatened the Engliſh at Bombay with immediate invaſion if they continued to admit the Siddee's fleet, and warned them of his intention to fortify the iſland of Elephanta within four miles of the fort, with which it would then have divided the command of the harbour; he upbraided the Portugueſe at Chaul, for ſuffering the deſcent of the Siddees into his territory within ſight of their walls, and demanded ground under their guns to build a fort, which ſhould controul the landing in future; and to excite more deference, ordered his fleet at Rajapore to take poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Anchideva, intending from thence to enthrall the trade of Goa, as well as to protect his own at Carwar. SECT. I. 1682.

The ſteep ſhores of the river Penn oppoſed the march of horſe from Gallian into the Corlahs; nevertheleſs five thousand men were ſtationed to defend the fords, and under their protection a fort was raiſing at the mouth of the river to prevent the entrance of the Siddee's gallivats. In the Corlahs and low country from Negotan to Chaul were 15,000 men, and 10,000 continued at Dunda Rajapore, in all 30,000 on this ſide the Gauts, beſides his fleet, which now amounted to one hundred and twenty gallivats and fifteen grabs. On the other side of the Gauts between Satarah and the paſs of Pondah were ſtationed 20,000 horſe to oppoſe Sultan Azim from Ahmednagur. The treaſuries of Sevagi ſupplied this expence to the weſtward, and the Carnatic maintained itſelf.

The

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The Siddee, with his whole fleet of smaller veſſels, as well as the ſhips, continued watching Gingerah until the ſeaſon began to roughen, and on the 12th of April came into the harbour of Bombay, where the Engliſh preſidency of Surat, more afraid of the Mogul's diſpleaſure than Sambagi's, had ordered their admittance.

As ſoon as they had taken up their ſtations under the iſland, moſt of Sambagi's gallivats, more than a hundred, began to rendezvous from the ſouthward at their intended winter quarters in the river Negotan, and under the iſland Kenary, which has a bay fit for ſmall craft. During the ſlatches of fair weather ſeveral ſkirmiſhes paſſed between theſe huſſars of the ſea, but the Siddee's gallivats had the advantage of making prize of trading boats, without reſiſtance, and of ravaging the defenceleſs parts of Sambagi's ſhores without the harbour: from which they brought away the inhabitants, whoſe noſes they cut off in outrage: on which Sambagi prohibited all proviſions from the Corlahs to Bombay, and the Portugueſe, always glad of diſtreſſing the iſland, refuſed any from their lands to the northward, and the ſcarcity which enſued increaſed the price to threefold the usual rates.

The camp at Dunda Rajapore, after the departure of Sambagi, deſiſted from the mound, but gathered boats, and having demoliſhed the oppoſite fortifications of Gingerah, made the attack in Auguſt, but the unſtable footing of the broken rock and ſurging ſea, expoſed them with much diſadvantage in the assault,

assault, and they were beaten off with the loss of two hundred men. SECT. I. 1682.

The weather having begun to settle, thirty gallivats came out of the river Negotan on the 5th of October, they were commanded by Siddee Misery, a relation of Siddee Sambole, who, on his removal from the command of the fleet of their community had taken service with Sambagi. Siddee Cossim at Mazagong was apprized, and put off with fifteen gallivats crowded with his best men. The fight continued four hours in sight of the fort of Bombay, and ended with victory to the Siddee, who brought back four of the enemy's gallivats, one of which was that in which Siddee Misery hoisted his flag. He was brought ashore at Mazagong mortally wounded; but the council would not permit any other of the prisoners to be landed. Thus much for the operations at sea during this monsoon.

Aurengzebe had moved from Brampore to Aurengabad in March, in order to be nearer the war against Sambagi. His general Hussein Ally, to save his horses from the deluges of the monsoon, repassed the gauts in May to the upper country, where this season is much less violent. Sultan Azim with Bahadar Khan had advanced in February from Aurengabad to Nassir Tirmeck on the river Gungah and near its source sixty miles to the south-west of Aurengabad; their detachments reduced several posts on detached hills, and then uniting sat down before one of greater consequence called Ramdeo; on

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which Hamedrow, at this time the principal general of Sambagi, advanced from Satarah with all the troops of the eaſtern frontier, to raiſe the ſiege. He gave battle, and was defeated with the loſs of two thouſand men, and returned to the ſtrong ſecurity of Satarah. At the ſame time the king of Viziapore menaced by Aurengzebe, and the fear of Sultan Azim's approach to his country, ſent his army to attack Sambagi's frontiers oppoſite to his own capital, where they took a ſtrong fort called Merick; on which Sambagi propoſed a defenſive alliance againſt the Mogul; which certainly was the intereſt of Viziapore. The king demanded the reſtitution of Pannela, as a preliminary; which, as the firſt acquiſition of importance made by Sevagi, as well as its commanding ſituation towards Viziapore, was highly rated by the Morattoe government; and Sambagi preferred the danger of refuſal to the diſhonour of acquieſcence.

The fleet which Aurengzebe had ordered to be prepared at Surat was ready to ſail in the beginning of November; Dowlet Caun continued under Sambagi, in the poſt of Admiral in chief, to which he had been raiſed by Sevagi, and was at Negotan with the main diviſion of gallivats, when Siddee Miſery was defeated; he had formed various but ineffectual ſchemes to burn the Siddee's fleet, and now received poſitive orders from Sambagi to invade Bombay at all events, before the arrival of the Mogul's: on which the militia of the iſland was raiſed; but the apprehenſion was ſoon removed by the

arrival of an embaſſador from Sambagi, ſent expreſsly to inform them that he had received certain intelligence from Bahadar Khan, whom he had bribed, that Aurengzebe intended to take Bombay from the Engliſh by ſurpriſe, and afterwards reduce Baſſein and Daman, belonging to the Portugueſe; that Sambagi, ſenſible of the great danger to which his own country would be expoſed by the Mogul's poſſeſſion of theſe fortreſſes, propoſed a defenſive alliance with the Engliſh, to operate on occaſion; that, relying on his aſſiſtance, they ſhould forbid the Siddee the reſort of their harbour, and refuſe admittance to the Mogul's fleet coming from Surat: he requeſted that one of the council might accompany the return of his embaſſador to Rairee.

It chanced at this time that the company's trade on the coaſt of Coromandel required the favour of Sambagi's authority; a valuable part of the inveſtment provided at Madraſs was manufactured in thoſe parts of the Carnatic, to the ſouth, which was firſt reduced by Viziapore, and afterwards by Sevagi. In the year 1673, application had been made to the Viziapore governor of Gingee, for permiſſion to eſtabliſh other factories in that territory beſides the one which the company already had at Conimeer; but nothing was concluded before the invaſion of Sevagi in 1677, after which the intention was ſuſpended until the end of the year 1681, when Mr. Elihu Yale, ſecond to the preſident Mr. Gifford, was deputed to Hargee Rajah, commanding at Gingee, and procured a fac-

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tory at Cudalore. A ſhip had been ſent with the ſame intention, from Madraſs to Porto Novo, in July of the preſent year 1682; but the Morattoe governor there, not wholly dependent on Hargee Rajah, demanded ſuch exorbitant terms, that the ſhip returned with the factors and cargo. Even Hargee Rajah had impoſed an additional duty on all the cloth provided for the company within his immediate diſtricts. In conſequence, the council of Madraſs requeſted the preſidency at Surat to procure a phirmaund from Sambagi, for the aboliſhment of the impoſt, with his permiſſion to build a fort ſomewhere near Cudalore, and his order for the puniſhment of the governor of Porto Novo. The preſidency at Surat had recommended this negotiation to Bombay, as nearer Rairee, a few days before Sambagi's embaſſador arrived there, whoſe intelligence concerning the Mogul's intentions was corroborated by the Portugueſe governor of Baſſein, and the return of the Mogul's army down the gauts to Gallian, but under the command of another general, named Ramnaut Cawn.

The embaſſador unfortunately became a witneſs of the very injuries of which he complained; the Siddee, vexed at the neceſſity of his departure, to give place to the Mogul's fleet, no longer regarded any meaſure of decency with Bombay, but continually made deſcent for plunder, in ſome part or other of the Corlahs; and on the 28th of November his gallivats entered the river Penn, where little had been done to the

intended

intended fort, and brought two hundred priſoners to Mazagong, which the council dared not reſent, excepting by expoſtulation; to which he replied, that this was his harveſt, for when the Mogul's fleet arrived, he ſhould get nothing. 1682.

This fleet began to appear on the 28th of November, and, bringing the acquieſcence of the preſidency of Surat, ſailed into the harbour without the compliment of notice; and having anchored their veſſels, landed three thouſand ſoldiers at Mazagong, who were all Moors, and men of ſervice, whoſe inſolent deportment would have perſuaded a ſtranger that the whole iſland belonged to them, and that the Engliſh held the fort on ſufferance; which was obliged to watch its gates with every precaution againſt treachery and ſurpriſe.

On the 20th of December, Sambagi's embaſſador, with one of the council, ſailed for the river Negotan in the company's baloon, or boat of ceremony, which was attended by a luggage boat. Both were boarded at the entrance of the river, and particular ſearch was made for the embaſſador, who lay concealed, and was afterwards ſet on ſhore in the mud, to get to Rairee as he could; but the gallivats carried off the luggage boat. The outrage was repreſented to Ramnaut Cawn, at Gallian, by a deputation from the council, which he received with much ſolemnity, and protracted the negotiation in expectation of a preſent, which the council referred to the preſidency at Surat, for whoſe conſent they waited a month, when they gave Ramnaut Cawn five thouſand rupees, and his lieut.

general

SECT. I. 1682.

general Rohilla Cawn ſome claret, which produced an injunction to the officers of both fleets to refrain from depredations in the Corlahs, or any inſult to the government of Bombay, which in the interval they had exerciſed with extreme licentiouſneſs.

n. 72.

In this year, 1682, the Engliſh company's factors were expelled from Bantam, in the iſland of Java, where the ſettlement was rated as an agency equal with Calcutta and Madraſs, reſponſible only to Surat, and having ſubordinate factories at Siam, Tonquin, Emoy, and Jamboo. The Dutch, ever ſince they got poſſeſſion of Batavia, had gradually annihilated, or reduced to ſubjection, all the principalities of Java, which bordered on the coaſt, excepting the king of Bantam, who, being old and voluptuous, reſigned the government to his ſon, but ſtipulated that he ſhould keep in office the two miniſters who had been his own: but the new king, as ſoon as ſettled, put them both to death; on which the principal lords or orankoys revolted, and putting the old king at their head, had very nearly reduced his ſon in the fortreſs of his palace; when the Dutch at Batavia ſent a ſtrong force, which beat and diſperſed the confederacy, and took the old king priſoner; after which, on their injunctions, their ally obliged all the Engliſh to quit the city; and the Dutch now pretending hoſpitality, received them with what effects they could ſave, at Batavia: from whence they proceeded in ſhips of their own, or hired, ſome to Surat, others to England. The trade of the ſubordinates did not long ſurvive the loſs of the principal factory,

and

and all together with conſequences was rated in the public memorials at 400,000 pounds ſterling. SECT. I.

Sultan Azim, having reduced the fort of Merick, repoſed his army during the rains, and took the field again in November. Delhire Khan now acted as his lieutenant-general. They advanced between Rairee and Satarah, and threatened both. But Sambagi in perſon, and all his Morattoes, exerted themſelves with redoubled activity to protect their capitals; and the mountains lay thick to aſſiſt their interruptions and ambuſcades, which haraſſed the Mogul's troops with continual alerts, and every where checked their progreſs; who as uſual blamed their generals, and murmured at this barren and impracticable war. In the month of February the king of Viziapore died, on which Aurengzebe ordered Sultan Azim to march into that kingdom, in order to try what advantage would be taken of this event. 1682. 1683.

The two fleets likewiſe ſailed from Bombay in the beginning of February; the Mogul's made ſome deſcents on Sambagi's coaſts, but effected nothing either of damage or gain adequate to the ſtrength and expence of their equipment. The Siddee kept cruizing near his ſtation off Gingerah, and Sambagi's fleet out of reach of both, who in the middle of March returned to Bombay, where the Siddee paying no regard to the injunctions of Ramnaut Cawn renewed his depredations on the Corlahs. On the 20th of April, although a month remained of the fair ſeaſon, orders came to the Mogul's fleet

to

SECT. I. 1683.

to return to Surat, and at the ſame time Ramnaut Cawn's army was recalled from Gallian, and Sultan Azim with his from Viziapore. No one knew the reaſon excepting Aurengzebe himſelf, who gave out that he intended to return to Delhi.

In the beginning of the year one of the Company's ſhips, named the Preſident, which had been bravely defended by the ſame captain, Hyde, againſt the Dutch fleet at Metchlepatam, arrived on the Malabar coaſt, and proceeding to Bombay, was attacked off Sanguaſeer by two ſhips and four grabs: three of the grabs grappled; the crew of one boarded, were beaten off, and the grab itſelf ſunk cloſe alongſide; the two others were cleared, and one of them blew up ſo near that the flaſh ſcorched many of the Preſident's men in the lower deck, and ſet her on fire in ſixteen places: ſoon after the other grab ſunk likewiſe; on which the remainder of the ſquadron ſailed away. Of the floating men ſome cut the Preſident's long-boat from the ſtern, and others were received into the ſhip. Moſt of them were Arabs, and all the fleet from Muſcat: they pretended to have miſtaken the Preſident for a Portugueſe ſhip which they were waiting for; but it was afterwards diſcovered at Rajapore, that they had all been hired by Sambagi. The Preſident had eleven men killed and thirty-five wounded, and was obliged to put into Goa to repair her damages. As ſoon as this event was known at Bombay, the councillor before intended, was ſent again, and arrived at Rairee, to whom Sambagi utterly denied any knowledge

ledge of the Arabs, but conſented to grant the privileges requeſted for the company's trade in the Gingee country on the coaſt of Coromandel; but the councillor, from ſome intemperance, if not diſorder, of mind, came away abruptly whilſt the writings were preparing. SECT. I. 1683.

The Siddee's fleet continued after the departure of the Mogul's with their uſual licentiouſneſs in the harbour, and their uſual inſolence on ſhore: the ſoldiers of the garriſon frequented the ſame market at Mazagong, and two of them going thither unarmed, were, on ſome quarrel, cut down by two of the Siddee's pitans; one died the next day, and the other was recovered with difficulty. Siddee Coſſim ſent off the murderer privately to Surat, where the Engliſh preſidency demanded him, in order to be tried at Bombay, and the governor of the city had nearly conſented, when an outrage committed againſt the Siddee at Bombay impaired the claim.

The murder was committed in May, and in July the crazy councillor with others from the ſhore dined on board a ſhip juſt arrived from England; the company, heated with wine, went on board the Siddee's admiral, knowing that Siddee Coſſim himſelf was on board: they uſed abuſive language, and the captain drew his ſword, which was wreſted from him, and he was wounded in the leg: all were eaſily overpowered, and without farther reſentment put into their boat: the captain, as ſoon as returned to his ſhip, fired her whole broadſide

SECT. I. 1683.

into the Siddee's, who did not return a ſhot. Signals and meſſengers from the ſhore ſtopped a repetition of the outrage, and expreſſes were diſpatched by the council, before it was known on ſhore what miſchief had been done, to anticipate the Siddee's complaint at Surat; where all the Engliſh continued for two days under the utmoſt apprehenſions of the populace, who, although reſtrained by the governor from immediate violence, crouded the ſtreets, impatient to know what Mahomedan blood they ſhould have to revenge; but fortunately no one was killed in the Siddee's ſhip, and only two or three were ſlightly wounded.

The deſign which Sambagi had formed in the preceding year, to take poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Anchidéva, had been prevented by the government of Goa, who in July ſent ſoldiers, artificers, and inhabitants, to ſettle and defend the iſlands; on which Sambagi ordered his officers in the conquered country adjoining the territory of Goa, to commit ſuch hoſtilities as their force enabled; and mutual attacks and incurſions, but of no great moment, had continued between them until the ſetting in of the rains in this year; when Sambagi, as regardleſs of ſeaſons as his father, came down the gauts in June with 30,000 men, and from his own town of upper Chaul, inveſted the neighbouring citadel of the ſame name belonging to the Portugueſe; but could make little progreſs againſt the advantages of European defence and fortification. To retaliate, the Viceroy of Goa took the field as ſoon as the fair weather returned in September, with 1,200 Europeans

Europeans and 25,000 natives of his own territory; a fleet of small veſſels cruized at the ſame time from Anchideva on the trade of Carwar, and even into the river. The army carried fire and ſword even into the temples, and the Inquiſition burnt the priſoners. The ſtationary force in this part of Sambagi's country was not equal to the Viceroy's, who advanced and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Pondah; on which Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Acbar, ſet off from Chaul with 8,000 horſe and 14,000 foot, in order to raiſe this ſiege, but without diſcontinuing his own againſt Chaul. By this time Sultan Acbar was convinced of the inability of Sambagi's alliance to conteſt the throne of the Moguls againſt the power of his father Aurengzebe; he therefore reſolved to quit India, and on ſome excuſe withdrew from the operations of the field, and took up his reſidence at Bicholin, within twenty miles of Goa.

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Sambagi came in ſight of Pondah, when breached in three places, and the aſſault intended in two days. The Viceroy did not break up his camp until ſurrounded, which reduced him to the options of famine, retreat, or ſurrender. The diſtance to Goa was thirty miles, nevertheleſs he reſolved to force his way. Every ſtep was haraſſed by horſe and foot, to which the line abandoned the baggage and heavy artillery, before the cloſe of the firſt day: they loſt two hundred Europeans and one thouſand of the natives, before they reached the iſland of Cumbareem, which is ſeparated from the city, formed by two channels of the river, which ſeparate and unite again. A ſuf-

SECT. I. 1683. ficient number of boats armed with peteraroes were prepared to ſecure the paſſage over both. Sambagi's infantry got boats, in which three thouſand of them paſſed into the iſland, when the Portugueſe boats rowing round intercepted their return, who, when thus confined, were attacked by the retreating army, and moſt of them deſtroyed. This was the firſt trial of regular hoſtility between an European power and the Morattoes, to whom it may be deemed ſucceſsful; for the Portugueſe did not venture to appear abroad again, and as their pride would not permit them to aſk aſſiſtance, they propoſed an alliance to Aurengzebe.

Sambagi obſerving with vexation, that the Portugueſe had made greater progreſs in the attack of Pondah, in ten days, than his father had been able in three months, entirely demoliſhed the fort, which then ſtood upon lower ground, and ſet the whole country to work to raiſe another on a neighbouring hill, which is the fort of Pondah, exiſting at this day.

Sambagi's army continuing maſter of the field, diſtreſſed at leaſt the luxuries of Goa, during which he himſelf led a detachment againſt the Rajah of Sundah, who although his tributary had aſſiſted the Portugueſe. During this expedition, Sambagi gave a ſignal inſtance of devotion to his religion. A Mahomedan of rank, who commanded one of his grabs, bought a cow at Carwar, and killed it for his meals; for which Sambagi put him publicly to death. Diſcipline alone would ſcarcely have revenged it's interdict with ſo much ſeverity; but it is a ſolemn

oath

oath amongſt the Hindoos to put the hand upon the head of a cow, and to imprecate, "may I eat the fleſh of this animal." SECT. I. 1683.

In the mean time Sultan Acbar at Bicholin had purchaſed a ſhip at Goa which came to Vingorlah; when he repaired to the Dutch factory there, and from thence on board. It was impoſſible that his intentions could have been concealed from Sambagi, for they were known to Aurengzebe at Aurengabad; but reſpect to his high birth and quality prevented any oppoſition to his will, and Sambagi might ſuppoſe that Acbar had held out this purpoſe of departure only to excite his own exertions in his ſupport, which had been promiſed for two years without the leaſt effect; but as ſoon as he was on board, Sambagi deputed to him his lieutenant general, and Cablis Cawn the miniſter of his pleaſures, whoſe proteſtations prevailed on him to come aſhore again.

The report of the country ſaid that Sambagi would take Goa, which Aurengzebe did not deem improbable; and although he always affected to deſpiſe the European ſettlements, ſaw what would be the importance of the acquiſition to Sambagi's power, and the views of Sultan Acbar, and therefore moved from Aurengabad to Ahmednagur, in order to be nearer the protection of Goa, as well as to the war of Viziapore, which he had determined to renew. At the ſame time he ordered his own fleet at Surat, which now conſiſted of twelve ſail, and the Siddee's, which was at Bombay, to proceed down the coaſt, in order to co-operate with an army he intended

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intended to ſend over the gauts. The Siddee might have ſailed in the beginning of September, but waited for money from Surat, (without which he would not move,) until the end of October, and even then the Mogul's fleet was not ready to ſail from Surat.

As ſoon as the Siddee's fleet had left the harbour of Bombay, the gallivats of Sambagi came out of Negotan and Hundry, to aſſiſt the ſiege of Chaul; but could not prevent a Portugueſe frigate from landing a ſupply of military ſtores and proviſions. The direction of the Mogul's forces to the ſouthward having relieved Rairee and Satarah from the ſolicitude of defence, an army of fifteen thouſand men came down the gauts in December, and encamped at Gallian, from whence they ravaged all the Portugueſe country between Baſſein and Daman, which was not under the cannon of theſe fortifications, and reduced ſeven of their out forts. On the 21ſt the Mogul's fleet from Surat came into the harbour, as well to diſplay their force to the Engliſh government, as to awe the marine of Sambagi, which reſpected them ſo little that a detachment of troops coming in gallivats from the river Penn landed on the 24th of December, and took poſſeſſion of the iſland Caranjah, which lieth at the bottom of the harbour of Bombay, and belonged to the Portugueſe, who had ſtationed gallivats from Baſſein to prevent the landing, which were not ſufficient to oppoſe it. Whatſoever diſcomfort the Mogul's fleet might receive from this miſchance to their allies, for as

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ſuch they regarded the Portugueſe by reaſon of their war with Sambagi, it was alleviated by an event of much more dangerous conſequence to the Engliſh affairs, which happened on this very day in the iſland of Bombay; of which the increaſing ſtrength and importance had long excited the grudge and jealouſy of the city of Surat.

The time was now come when the company's intereſts were doomed to ſuffer more detriment from their fellow ſubjects, than they had hitherto endured from all the governments of India; the charters and acts of parliament had not given them diſtinctly, although intended, the privilege of excluſive trade; and the ſpirit of commerce, which ſees its drifts with eagle's eyes, formed aſſociations at the riſque of trying the conſequence at law, being ſafe at the outſet and during the voyage, ſince the ſtatutes did not authorize the company to ſeize or ſtop the ſhips of theſe adventurers, whom they called interlopers. The firſt ſhip, under the direction of one Say, had arrived in the month of September of the preceding year 1682, at Muſcat on the Arabian ſhore, where he ſettled a factory, intending to draw to this port, out of the reach of the company's ſettlements and influence in India, all the commodities he wanted from thence for Europe, beſides what more were to be obtained nearer hand, or from other ports. Another ſhip came to Goa in October, three were going to Bengal, and one coming to Surat, where the preſidency diſcovered, by intercepted letters, that two of the council, Petit and Boucher, had

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had not only encouraged, but taken part in ſome of the interloping ſhips; on which they were diſmiſſed the company's ſervice, and took the protection of the Mogul's government in the city, to whom they revealed whatſoever they ſuppoſed might produce miſchief, and promiſed the governor a preſent out of the cargoes they expected. The preſidency demanded their perſons as debtors to the company, in which caſe the phirmaunds granted by three Moguls diſclaimed the protection of Engliſh ſubjects; but Petit and Boucher counteracted this plea by procuring merchants of the city, who were ſubjects of the Mogul, to demand their detention for debts to themſelves; ſo that after a ſhort and civil confinement, both were releaſed without other reſtraint than an eye watch; when ſeveral diſcontented Engliſhmen, who traded with the company's licence, although not in their ſervice, joined in community with them, and all together preferred a petition to the Mogul for a ſeparate trade, and requeſted that Petit and Boucher might come to his court. In the mean time the three ſhips that went to Bengal had met with zealous advice and aſſiſtance from Vincent and Pitt, who had been principal agents of the company, but lately diſmiſſed for irregularities. Hitherto the company grounded on the firſt phirmaunds obtained by Boughton from Sultan Sujah in 1636, had paid no cuſtoms to the Bengal government until the three laſt years, when the ſame rate of three and a half per cent. which was levied at Surat was demanded; but not to eſtabliſh a prece-

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dent, this claim, as often as it aroſe, had been put to ſleep with preſents. But the interlopers, directed by Vincent, paid the cuſtoms willingly, and made preſents into the bargain; which facilitated their dealings, and the three ſhips ſailed with full cargoes for England in January, within four months after their arrival. Chaeſt Khan, the uncle of Aurengzebe, was at this time nabob of Bengal, to which he had been removed in 1666, in conſequence of his adventure with Sevagi. He was as avaricious as the meaneſt of his dependants, and took the greateſt ſhare of what they had got from the interlopers; and from his hunger of theſe new perquiſites recommended the utilities of the interloping trade to Aurengzebe, who, in deference to his opinion, gave the phirmaund which Petit and Boucher were ſoliciting. It arrived at Surat in June, with permiſſion for them to come to court; on which they ſet out their equipages, to be admired at the city gates; but whilſt loitering there, Sir John Child, the preſident, prevailed on the governor to delay their paſſports, under pretence of informality in the Mogul's permiſſion. In the mean time a counter order was procured, on which Petit and Boucher diſcharged their preparations for the journey, and continued ſeemingly quiet in the city: but, two months after, in the beginning of September, Boucher went away privately, and got to Aurengabad. In October a ſhip, called the Society, of one hundred tons, which had long been expected by Petit, arrived at Daman, and on his petition to the governor of Surat, was

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permitted to come into the river, where he managed her buſineſs.

Both Petit and Boucher, by their long continuance and late rank in the company's ſervice, were connected with many others; and on their apoſtaſy correſponded with their intimates at Bombay, repreſenting the interlopers as protected by the king, and encouraged by the ſenſe of the nation, averſe to the company as a monopoly, to the ruin of which whoſoever might contribute, would (as they pretended) have little to fear. At this time the regular military at Bombay were four hundred men, rated as Europeans, although mixed with Topaſſes. The higheſt commiſſion was a captain, and only one of this, which was held by Keigwin, who had ſerved with approbation againſt Kenary in 1674. The Europeans were equally divided into three companies, of which he commanded the firſt; the other two were commanded by Fletcher and Thornburn, who were only lieutenants. The directors in England had lately diſapproved of ſeveral allowances to the military officers; and had even reduced the rate of exchange at which the common ſoldiers, as well as they, were paid; and not content with eſtabliſhing new regulations for the future, inſiſted that the officers ſhould refund the ſurplus of what they had received beyond the reform. The officers remonſtrated with hardy diſcontent; but the company's orders were poſitive, and were enforced with pertinacity by the ſupreme council at Surat, which was imputed to the haughty auſterity

of the preſident Sir John Child. The officers, long indulged in licentious manners, formed a conſpiracy amongſt themſelves, and ſecured the concurrence of the ſoldiery, without exciting even a ſurmiſe of their intentions in the council of the iſland; and indeed the enormity of the attempt precluded the ſuſpicion. SECT. I. 1683.

On the 24th of December, Keigwin, backed by the guard of the fort, ſeized the deputy governor, Mr. Charles Ward, with the four members of the council. The inhabitants without ſaw the whole body of the troops ready to ſupport their officers, and attempted no reſiſtance: a proclamation was iſſued, veſting the government of the iſland in Keigwin, Fletcher, Thornburn, and two enſigns, as a council; who declared their intention of holding it for the king, and menaced pain of death againſt all attempts to recover it for the company. Three days after arrived the Hunter frigate, commanded by Alderton, bound with merchandize and treaſure from Surat for the factories at Carwar and Callicut; and Alderton was prevailed upon to deliver the cargo to the rebels, and to continue in the command of the veſſel in their ſervice. Three days after one of the company's ſhips from England came into the harbour; the captain went aſhore, and as walking to the fort was met by a friend, who told him what had happened; on which he returned to his ſhip, fired upon by ſome ſmall arms from the ſoldiers, and ſailed to Surat, where he brought the firſt authentic information of the revolt.

SECT. I. 1684.

Six of the company's ſhips, with their uſual compliment of one hundred ſeamen, were at this time in the road of Swally, of which three were taking in their ladings for England. On the 6th of January the other three ſhips were diſpatched to Bombay with three members of the preſidency, empowered to treat with the rebels, who neither heeded their propoſals, nor would make any of their own, and had ſent away all the late council of the iſland, excepting the deputy governor. The ſhips nevertheleſs continued in the harbour; and on the 30th of January arrived the other three from Surat, with Sir John Child, who formally ſummoned the rebels to ſurrender the iſland on pain of high treaſon, which only exaſperated them the more, and they had well nigh reſolved to impriſon the two commiſſioners who brought the ſummons on ſhore. The three ſhips for England were ſoon after diſpatched; but Sir John Child continued with the others in the harbour until the 20th of February, when convinced that all his endeavours of accommodation would be ineffectual, he returned with them to Surat, and on the way left factors at Verſovah, on Salcette, to gain intelligence, with little hopes of any good.

In the beginning of this year, 1684, commenced the operations of Aurengzebe againſt Sambagi, towards Goa; when Sultan Mauzum with a vaſt army, of which 40,000 were cavalry, forced the gauts with little reſiſtance, and met leſs in the plainer country; for Sambagi, ſenſible that his force could not ſtand before them in the field, left garriſons in his ſtrong holds,

holds, and retired with the main body of his army to Rajapore, between which and Goa are ſix rivers. The Mogul's army ſpread down to the ſea between Goa and the river Cary, which bounds the preſent territory of Molundy. They fed on the herds and harveſts of the field; and, after collecting all the grain in ſtore, burnt the towns and villages; and Sultan Mauzum, to pleaſe his father ſtill more, defiled and deſtroyed the pagodas, and ſacked Vingorlah with fury for having given refuge to Sultan Acbar: but the Dutch factory defended themſelves from their windows until they had bought off the attack. SECT. I. 1684.

The ſtock of proviſions in the country were not ſufficient to ſuſtain this waſteful multitude. The Mogul's fleet from Surat eſcorting many tranſports with grain arrived towards the end of January off the bar of Goa, and the admiral relying on the appearance of intended relief to the Portugueſe, ſailed on to enter the harbour; but the viceroy had diſcovered that he was ſecretly inſtructed to ſeize the city, and keep it for the Mogul; and forbad the entrance by the fire of the batteries which command it. On this repulſe the fleet returned to the entrance of the river Bardez, where they landed their proviſions, which were but a ſhort ſupply to ſuch a hoſt, and the convoys from the inland continually failed by the difficulty of the carriage over the mountains, which this increaſing neceſſity obliged Sultan Mauzum to repaſs in the beginning of March, but he encamped within twenty miles of the ridge, waiting

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waiting his father's orders, either to join his brother Sultan Azim, who was acting with another army againſt Viziapore, or to return into the Concan if Sambagi ſhould again preſs upon Goa. At the ſame time the Mogul's fleet returned towards Surat, and ſoon after Sambagi to Rairee, having firſt ſent back his troops to retake poſſeſſion of the country which they had abandoned to the Moguls, in doing which they met with no reſiſtance, but were deterred by the vicinity of Sultan Mauzum from the immediate renewal of hoſtilities againſt Goa; where the government, convinced of the danger of any alliance with Aurengzebe, made overtures of peace to Sambagi, for which he demanded five millions of rupees.

The Siddee having been received at Bombay in April with as much welcome by the rebels as by Sir John Child, thought he ſhould find no reſtraint from them in the renewal of his former forbidden practices in the harbour, where his gallivats openly inveſted the oppoſite ſhores belonging to Sambagi, without endeavouring to conceal their captures, although they brought away the inhabitants themſelves as well as their properties. Theſe injuries, becauſe not repreſſed by the rebels, made Sambagi's officers prevent the exportation of all kinds of proviſions to the iſland. At the ſame time the Portugueſe, as heretofore from envy to the proſperity of Bombay, now from reſpect to good government, had refuſed the rebels all aſſiſtance, or ſupply, from Salcette and their northern lands. Want prevailed, and Alderton was ſent with the Revenge to bring

bring grain from Surat, which Petit was to provide. She arrived on the 24th of March, at Swally, where the three ſhips of the company were taking in their ladings; they anchored cloſe, and threatened to board; diſcuſſion enſued, and Alderton, on the promiſe of pardon, ſurrendered the frigate. On this diſappointment Petit went privately from the city on board a ſhip of his own, which the governor's paſs protected from the company's, and proceeded in her to Bombay, where he became a welcome adviſer to the rebels. SECT. I. 1684.

They in the mean time had ſeverely checked the Siddee, and forbad his gallivats to continue at Mazagong, or to come there for any other purpoſe than to get water, ſo that he was obliged to make them rendezvous at his own iſland of Kenary, and finding that his influence with the rebels was not what he expected, he went away with his ſhips and larger veſſels to Surat, as ſoon as the Mogul's fleet paſſed the harbour in their way thither, which was in the beginning of April. In his dudgeon, but under the pretence of miſtaking the intention, he took with him the two men who were to have watched at Kenary, and delivered them back to the Engliſh preſidency at Surat.

The rebels had likewiſe thought it neceſſary to apologize to Sambagi, for the late outrages of the Siddee, and took the fair opening of a requeſt which had been made by Sambagi before the revolution, on the abſurd conduct of the councillor that had been ſent to him, that Captain Gary might come to

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ſettle matters. Gary was originally a Greek, but had been on the iſland ever ſince it was delivered up by the Portugueſe, and had borne ſeveral commiſſions, civil as well as military, whilſt it was under the government of the crown, before it was formally yielded up to the company, by whom he was ſuſpected, and diſcarded. He was a buſy man, of much vanity, intrigue, and plauſibility, and availing himſelf of his former conſequence and connexions, had contrived to keep up his correſpondence with all the neighbouring governors. He had moreover been perſonally known to Sevagi, who did not diſlike his talents, and no choice could be more acceptable to the rebels, as he was ſuppoſed to be the ſecret promoter of all their councils: which, however, on this occaſion at leaſt, were not utterly devoid of national loyalty; but hoping the eſtabliſhment of a new company, they provided for a general concern, by inſtructing Gary to require the completion of former agreements, as well as the redreſs of late violations, and to ſolicit the phirmaunds which had been requeſted by the government of Madraſs, for the freedom and increaſe of their trade in the Gingee country. Sambagi, from the fear of deſperate reſolutions in men who were holding nothing they were not ſure to loſe, and from the hope of gaining them to his own views, which were to get the iſland for himſelf, treated Gary with much attention. He confirmed the articles allowed by Sevagi to Mr. Oxenden; agreed to pay 2,600 pagodas remaining due, according to his own accounts, for compenſation

compenſation of the loſſes formerly ſuſtained in the pillage of Rajapore, Hubely, and Huttany. In the Gingee country he granted a factory at Cudalore and Thevenapatam, with the ancient immunities allowed by Viziapore to the factory at Conimeer, and allowed free trade at Porto Novo. Keigwin and his council are named in the patents as the parties to whom the grants are made. SECT. I. 1684.

On the 15th of July one of the company's ſhips, called the Eaſt-India Merchant, arrived in the harbour with fifty ſoldiers for the garriſon; whom the commander, Davis, a weak man, was ſeduced to land for the ſake of ſelling his private adventure to the rebels, although at the ſame time he acknowledged the authority of the preſidency at Surat; from whom he received orders to continue in the harbour, and they at the ſame time ſent two veſſels, with two of the council, who were to ſuperintend the vigilance of all the three in preventing the rebels from getting proviſions. Soon after came an interloper from England, who attempted intercourſe with the ſhore, but was beaten out of the harbour by the fire of the Eaſt-India Merchant, and proceeded to Surat. In September, two ſhips bound thither from France, put into the harbour, where they continued ſeveral days, and ſupplied the rebels with refreſhments and abundance of wine. On the 2d of October another trading ſhip, belonging to Petit, got under the guns of the fort. A few days after they received intelligence, that a ſhip of eighty guns, which the company had purchaſed, and

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named Charles the Second, was in ſight of Surat, having on board two hundred and fifty ſoldiers and the captain a commiſſion from the king againſt pirates, on which authority the preſidency intended to employ her in reducing the iſland. On this news Petit, in his ſhip, ſailed out of the harbour in the night of the 20th of October, unnoticed by the Eaſt-India Merchant and the ſmaller veſſels on watch. Two days after his ſhip was attacked off the head land of St. John's by ſeveral Singanian veſſels, and the ſhip took fire by an exploſion of powder, which ſcorched many of the crew, and all got into the long-boat and yawl. The yawl gained the land, but the long-boat was taken, and in her Petit, who had received a concuſſion of the brain by a fall as jumping into her. The boat was carried to Gogo, where he died a few days after.

On the 3d of November Sir Thomas Grantham arrived in the Charles the Second, empowered by the preſidency to treat with the rebels. They were preſſed by ſcarcity, and admitted a conference which laſted ſix days; and when articles were nearly concluded, one of the ſoldiers in the fort fired a piſtol at Sir Thomas Grantham, in hopes of breaking off the treaty by this act of treachery, which, however, his comrades and officers diſavowed, and ſigned the articles; which granted amneſty and pardon of all crimes and miſdemeanors to all perſons, and even reſtoration to their former ranks and employment in the company's ſervice; which moſt accepted; but not Keigwin, who only ſtipulated for his paſſage to Eng-

land with Grantham, and ſoon after ſailed with him to Surat, where he ſet no reſtraint to the antipathy of his invectives againſt Sir John Child.* SECT. I. 1684.

The agreement for the ſurrender of the fort and iſland to Sir Thomas Grantham, was ſettled on the 11th of November, nearly eleven months after they had been wreſted from the legal government. The revolt began, continued, and ended without bloodſhed; excepting in a drunken quarrel at table, when Keigwin was wounded by his ſecond Thornburn. At firſt all who openly diſavowed their authority, were either impriſoned, reſtrained, or ſent off the iſland, but they kept the deputy governor, Mr. Ward, in cloſe confinement to the end. They deſtroyed the dwelling-houſe of Alderton, in revenge of his defection. They had cautiouſly refrained from opening the treaſure, which he ſurrendered to them with the Hunter frigate. Nor did they uſe any of the company's property, unleſs for public ſervice, ſuch as the diet, cloathing, and arming of the garriſon, and for maintaining the works and veſſels.

* Sir John Child and the Preſidency at Surat, appointed Charles Zinzan to be deputy governor. Charles Ward, the former deputy governor, to be ſecond; Sir Thomas Grantham to have a temporary ſeat, even before C. Ward; John Engliſh (Agent we think of Perſia), with John Gladman, and John Vauxe, to be of council. Doctor S. John, D. L. to aſſiſt. This commiſſion is dated at Swally Marine, December 12th, 1684. Sir Thomas Grantham and C. Ward were then at Bombay, the others arrived there on the 16th of December; in what, or with what ſhips, is not ſaid; they conſulted on board the Charles the Second on the 17th, and on the 18th Zinzan went aſhore at noon, received the keys from Sir T. Grantham, and was received by the garriſon with content. It does not appear that the Siddee, or any of his people or fleet, were on the iſland, or in the harbour, at this time.

SECT. I. 1684.

They raiſed money by the eſtabliſhed taxes, with additions which were ſo judiciouſly impoſed, that they were continued after the legal government was reſtored. They kept on fair terms without yielding to the Siddee, who had lately returned with his ſhips from Surat, but watched againſt ſurprize either from him or Sambagi, both of whom would have given much for the iſland.

On the 12th of December, arrived one of the Company's ſhips diſpatched from Surat, with a deputy governor, Mr. Charles Zinzan, and three members of a new council, attended by a judge of the admiralty court, lately arrived from England. They were appointed by the preſidency, and after the neceſſary precautions had been taken landed on the 17th, when Sir Thomas Grantham formally delivered the keys at the gate of the caſtle to Mr. Zinzan, and cauſed the new commiſſion to be read at the head of all the troops drawn up on the parade; amongſt whom were a few murmurs, but moſt in general were ſatisfied with the change. The next day the ſoldiers which had come from England in Sir Thomas Grantham's ſhip, were incorporated in three companies, to which new officers were appointed; but Fletcher, who had behaved with moderation during the revolt, was continued in the command of his, which was the youngeſt.

During this, the negotiation between Goa and Sambagi had continued, and in June a perſon of diſtinction was ſent from Baſſein to Rairee; but Sambagi perſiſted in his demand

mand of five millions of rupees, which the Portugueſe were unable to pay, and farther correſpondence ceaſed; on which, as ſoon as the rains were over, about September, the fleet of Baſſein ſurprized and retook the iſland of Caranjah; and ſoon after Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Ecbar, came down the gauts with 15,000 horſe to Gallian, from whence they ſpread ravage through the Portugueſe country as far as Daman. SECT. I. 1684.

In the war of Viziapore, Sultan Azim had been defeated in two pitched battles, before the end of June, and in the laſt was dangerouſly wounded; which, with his ill fortune, and the rains, ſtopped his farther operations; and even Aurengzebe pretended to take time for conſideration; but the perſeverance of his mind left no doubt of the reſult; and the king of Golcondah, convinced that the fall of Viziapore would draw on his own, entered into a ſecret confederacy with this king. The country of Myſore was at this time divided amongſt ſeveral Rajahs, of whom the moſt ancient and conſiderable was he of Seringapatam; and all of them had paid tribute to Viziapore, whilſt able to defend its own territory againſt the Mogul, without withdrawing the troops neceſſary to awe its tributaries. But their homages had lately failed, and could not be reclaimed, from the want of a military force. Golcondah, from Gandicotah, and its frontier to the ſouth weſt, had immediate entrance into Myſore, and troops unemployed ſufficient to invade the country; which continuing no longer of uſe to Viziapore, the king conſented that Golcondah ſhould keep

SECT. I. 1684.

keep what parts of it he might conquer; who in return ſupplied Viziapore with a vaſt ſum of money, and both ſent a great deal to induce Sambagi to act againſt the Mogul, in conformity with the operations of Viziapore.

Diſturbances in the interior part of the empire at this time required attention. The city of Agra and all its roads had for many years been infeſted by bands of robbers, who at length had blended into one community, which, ſince the continuance of Aurengzebe in the Decan, had become ſuperior, in number and military effort, to the eſtabliſhed forces of the province. The Rajpoots of Joudpore and Chitore had, during the two laſt years, beſet the roads of Malva and Guzerat, and in this threatened more effectual hoſtilities. But neither theſe, nor the diſtreſſes in the province of Agra, availed with Aurengzebe to abate his exertions of conqueſt in the Decan.

Sultan Mauzum, waiting his father's reſolutions, continued with his army near the gauts of Goa, after he had repaſſed them in March: and in September, immediately after the rains, his camp was afflicted by a peſtilence, of which five hundred died in a day: nevertheleſs, the reſignation of ignorance and predeſtination ſought not the remedy by removing to more open ground.

Sambagi having ſwept the Portugueſe country to the north of Salcette, encamped before Baſſein, which he inveſted on all ſides, excepting the ſea, which he could not command; but received intelligence that a large body of the Mogul's troops were

were advancing to force the gauts and deſcend to Gallian, he broke up his camp on the 24th of November, and marched away to the northward, ravaging within forty miles of Surat, where the terror was great, but miſtaken; for they turned through the mountains, which in this part are more open, and proceeded towards Rairee. On the way one of his generals obtained his permiſſion to go with the troops of his command, which were two thouſand horſe, to make their ablutions in the Gunga at Naſſir Turmeck. The day after, Sambagi diſcovered that they intended, after their ceremonies, to deſert to the Mogul; on which he detached ſix thouſand horſe, under pretence of the ſame pilgrimage; which might be credited, as every Morattoe is obliged to waſh at leaſt once a year in the Gunga, and in preference at Naſſir Turmeck. The deſerters received their purſuers as companions, who attacked, and, according to the report of the country, ſlew every man of them.

SECT. I. 1684. n. 75.

Towards the end of the enſuing January, which brings us into the year 1685, ten thouſand horſe ſet off from Rairee under four generals, and ravaged as far as Brampore, with more than ordinary haſte and devaſtation. We learn this from the Engliſh factors at Drongom, who had but two hours to eſcape, and every houſe in the town was either pillaged or burnt. The whole country was in flames; Aurengzebe diſpatched ſix thouſand horſe from Ahmednagur, under the command of Bahadar Khan, who never came within ſix days of the purſuit. He ſoon after ſent his ſon Cawn Bukſh with

1685.

12,000

SECT. I. 12,000 more, to command at Brampore; which was his firſt eſtabliſhment in public buſineſs.

1685. Ahmednagur, where Aurengzebe was reſiding, is one hundred and thirty miles to the north of the city of Viziapore. Sultan Mauzum's encampment at the foot of the gauts was about the ſame diſtance to the ſouth weſt. Sultan Azim had renewed the war in the northern diviſion of Viziapore, and in February took the fort of Solapore, which was conſidered as the ſtrongeſt bulwark of the capital towards Ahmednagur; probably by the aid of treachery, as the whole force of Viziapore was aſſembled on this ſide to oppoſe him.

At this time Sultan Mauzum, by his father's orders, was advancing on the weſtward, and met with no reſiſtance in the
n. 76. field. Gocuck, Hubely, and ſeveral other towns of note ſurrendered without reſiſtance, and the ſtronger citadel of Darwar with little. From hence he advanced thirty miles farther to Guduck, which is ſixty from Viziapore; when, to interrupt his farther progreſs, 15,000 horſe were detached from the main army, who encamped within ten miles of Sultan Mauzum's, moving as they moved, and cut off his convoys.

Bullal and Serji Khan were the two principal officers in the government of Viziapore, whoſe long continued enmity the danger of the ſtate had reconciled. Their abilities in the field equalled any of the officers of Aurengzebe, and the cavalry of Viziapore ſerving under hereditary lords of the land, of which they themſelves had portions, either by inheritance, or granted

for

for military ſervice, were braver and better equipped in proportion to their numbers than any in Indoſtan, which alone accounts for their frequent victories over the Moguls. In April what remained with Bullal and Serji Khan routed Sultan Azim's army in a general battle, which quelled all dangers in the field, until the rains ſecured their winter quarters, after which both armies defied each other again, and in October Sultan Azim was again defeated. Theſe repeated experiments of ill ſucceſs induced Aurengzebe to order a ceſſation of all offenſive hoſtilities, until he ſhould himſelf arrive to conduct the war. SECT. I. 1685.

The government of Goa, to retaliate the ravage of their northern territory, ſpirited ſeveral of Sambagi's Deſoys in Sundah and Carwar to revolt, and aſſiſted them with three hundred Topaſſes: theſe hoſtilities commenced in February, ceaſed with the rains, and were renewed with the fair ſeaſon. Sambagi, intent on operations againſt the Mogul, ſent no reinforcements, and ordered what troops and officers remained faithful, to retire into the forts they had not loſt; but his fleet of two ſhips and five grabs, ſtationed at Rajapore, cruiſed on the trade of the Portugueſe and the revolted coaſt; nor was the marine force at Goa ſufficient to oppoſe them. In October he ſent off a body of ſix thouſand horſe from Rairee, which croſſed the Tapti and Nerbeddah, and aſſaulted the city of Broach within a few hours after their approach was known; ſeveral parts of the wall were in ruins, and the governor and n. 77.

SECT. I. 1685. several officers were killed in the onset, after which the garrison bewildered were glad to save their lives by laying down their arms. The Morattoes, as soon as quiet was restored, proclaimed Sultan Acbar, Mogul, and continued exacting ransoms and collecting plunder until the Subah of Ahmedabad began to advance with the troops of the province, on which they went off unmolested with their booty. Surat was in the utmost consternation, and began to remove to Swally. From this period we are deprived of cotemporary details concerning the operations of Sambagi.*

In December Aurengzebe with his own army from Ahmednagur joined his son Sultan Azim's at Solapore, and called up Sultan Mauzum with his from Guduck. Either of the three
1686. were little inferior in numbers to the whole army of Viziapore.† But Aurengzebe, who although never moved by personal danger, always avoided the brunt of arms, whensoever he could gain his ends by other means, lavished promises and money to procure defections; which, although operating by degrees, left him in no doubt of the final success, of which he determined to give the honour to Sultan Azim; but as the continuance of his eldest son, Sultan Mauzum, in reach of operations he should not command, would have marked a partiality disgustful to the better part of his armies, he removed the

* Gentil says, in December 1685, Geassoudin Khan, father of Nizamalmoulouck, takes the two forts of Raebari, and of Rari, in the environs of Poonah.

† In March 1686, Khan Jehan Behadoor invests Viziapore. Gentil.

dilemma

dilemma by ſending him off to attack the king of Golcondah, of whoſe concert with Viziapore and Sambagi, he had acquired information. SECT. I. 1686.

The king of Golcondah, weak and voluptuous, was entirely governed by two bramins, Anconah and Moodapah, whom he had conſtituted by patent the principal miniſters of the government; their rule was inſolent, mean, and avaricious. They had conferred moſt of the civil offices of the ſtate on perſons either of their own caſt or religion, to the great diſguſt of the Mahomedans, who held moſt of the principal commands in the army, and compoſed the whole body of cavalry, which was conſidered as the bulwark of the kingdom. No one abominated the diſſonant influence of the two bramins more than Ibrahim Khan, the captain-general, who led the army againſt Sultan Mauzum, and ſuffered him to reduce Malquer, the *n.* 78. principal barrier of the capital, with much leſs reſiſtance than might have been made by the ſtrength of the fortreſs, and the force in the field. This eaſy ſucceſs ſuggeſted to Sultan Mauzum, that Ibrahim Khan might be gained to betray his *n.* 79. command more effectually. The experiment ſucceeded, and many of the beſt troops came over with him. The command then devolved on Ruſtum Roy, who ſoon recruited the army with numbers more than the defection, but of much inferior ſervice; and only kept the field by avoiding battle until they had retreated to within ſight of the capital, Hyderabad, of which Sultan Mauzum took poſſeſſion without reſiſtance, on

SECT. I. 1686. the* 9th of October. The king before his arrival had taken refuge in the fortreſs of Golcondah, and in ſuch conſternation that it was ſuppoſed he would, if preſſed in the agony, have ſurrendered. Sultan Mauzum inveſted the fortreſs, but dreading to add a crown to his own reputation, which his father had once attempted, but failed to ſeize, liſtened to the overtures of the king, who, to preſerve his diadem, proffered the humbleſt ſubmiſſions, with much gold and the moſt precious diamonds of his mines; to which Sultan Mauzum, in complacence to Ibrahim Khan, added the death of the two bramins, and referred the terms to Aurengzebe, who, fully employed againſt Viziapore, permitted him to conclude them.

In this kingdom repeated deſertions had produced the ſame effect, as the more general defection in Golcondah. The king retired into his capital with a large body of troops, ſelected by his opinion of their fidelity. The city of Viziapore was extenſive, and capable of ſome defence, and had a citadel of greater ſtrength. But the king ſoon began to entertain doubts of his troops, which were probably ſuggeſted by the artifices of Aurengzebe, and retired to a neighbouring fort, ſituated on an inexpugnable rock; and ſoon after the city, which had ſtood ſeveral aſſaults, ſurrendered. This event, according to the beſt combination we can make, happened in the middle of June. No troops remained in reſiſtance in the field; and

n. 80.

* Mr. Gentil gives this date of the 9th of October, but adds, that Sultan Mauzum afterwards inveſted the fortreſs.

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the forts vied in ſubmiſſion, after the reduction of the capital; from whence the Mogul's army proceeded to inveſt the retreat of the king, who ſeeing no chance of eſcape, capitulated, for the preſervation of his life and the poſſeſſion of his women and children.* He appeared before Aurengzebe in ſilver chains, and humbled himſelf to the duſt, more with the demeanour of a captive rebel than a vanquiſhed ſovereign. It was for ſome time reported and believed that Aurengzebe had put him to death.

SECT. I. 1686.

We have no account of Sambagi's operations in the field immediately ſubſequent to the ſurpriſe of Broach in October, 1685. The great force collected by the Mogul in the beginning of 1686 to reduce Viziapore, probably deterred him from any efforts to obſtruct their operations in this country, but left him freer ſcope to the northward, between Aurengabad and Surat, of which we ſuppoſe that he availed himſelf, at leaſt by plundering excurſions. But whatſoever might have been his ſucceſſes, the fall of Viziapore convinced Sultan Acbar that the future efforts of Sambagi in his behalf would be uſeleſs beyond the obtainment of pardon, which he deſpiſed, and of promiſes which he could not truſt; he therefore reſumed his former reſolution of retiring to Perſia, and Sambagi conſented to his departure, as the moſt probable means of producing

* Mr. Gentil ſays, he and the city were taken on the 1ſt of September 1687, and appeared before Aurengzebe on the 14th.

Mr. Anquetil du Perron proves that Viziapore was taken in the firſt days of October 1686.

more

SECT. I. 1686.

more efficacious exertions againſt their common enemy. A ſhip, commanded by an Engliſhman, named Bendal, was hired at Rajapore; and Sultan Acbar, with a ſlender retinue, embarked in her as ſoon as the monſoon was changed in October. The ſhip arrived at Muſcat in November; from thence Sultan Acbar proceeded in another embarkation to Buſhire, and was eſcorted to Iſpahan, where the king of Perſia received him with all the attentions ſuitable to his high birth and fallen eſtate.

n. 81.

The departure of Sultan Acbar removed one half of the importance and anxiety of the war againſt Sambagi, and made Aurengzebe regret the terms he had granted to the king of Golcondah, which he determined nevertheleſs to break; but wiſhed, without hope, the concurrence of Sultan Mauzum, who by his order had ratified the treaty. Aſſuming therefore the appearance of indifference to his object, he propoſed to the deliberation of the council againſt which enemy the ſtreſs of the war ſhould be directed. Sultan Mauzum proffered, at any forfeit, to accompliſh the entire reduction of Sambagi and his country. Sultan Azim, as little in the ſecret, but always envious of his brother Mauzum, adviſed that Aurengzebe ſhould conduct this war in perſon; but Cawn Bukſh, inſtructed by his mother Udeperri, propoſed the immediate conqueſt of Golcondah. Sultan Mauzum ſaw from whence this arrow parted, and replied with indignation, that the ambition of the emperor ought not to ſacrifice the honor of his ſon,

ſon, which had been pledged to the king. It is ſaid that Aurengzebe loſt his temper, and concluded his invective with the threat of perpetual impriſonment. Sultan Mogedine, the eldeſt ſon of Mauzum, thinking all was loſt, graſped his ſcimitar; but his father ſtopped his arm, ſaying "let us not ſet a "pernicious example to poſterity." Theſe ſuperior words made Aurengzebe recollect himſelf, affect complacence, and retain the grudge. SECT. I. 1686.

He ſpake no more of Golcondah; but gave out that he intended to return to Delhi, and to promote the belief negotiated with Sambagi, who conſented to a ceſſation of hoſtilities, intending to renew them as ſoon as he was gone. Even Sultan Mauzum was deceived, and prepared to lead the van of the march, of which Aurengzebe permitted him to chooſe the troops, who were always to be two days a-head of the emperor, with whom Sultan Mauzum continued, waiting his ultimate orders, whilſt the van was halting at their firſt ſtage. Coming as uſual to the public audience, Aurengzebe made a ſign with his hand that he ſhould wait in one of the adjacent rooms, and ſoon after directed Sultan Mogedine thither likewiſe, where they were both arreſted by the captain of the body guard; and conveyed on elephants to different caſtles; the ſecond ſon was ſent to another: but all the three were treated with indulgences and reſpect. The two other ſons and a daughter, being infants, Aurengzebe took into his own family, and treated them with as much affection as if he had no quarrel with their father.

The

SECT. I.

1686. *n.* 82.

The intention of returning to Delhi was ſtill held out. The road from Viziapore by Calberga was as near as any other. The city is fortified, and contains the moſt celebrated moſque in the Decan, with the tomb of a ſaint of equal veneration. Aureingzebe requeſted the king of Golcondah's permiſſion to pray at theſe ſhrines: and the king, with the utmoſt refinement of oriental homage, ſent him 500,000 gold mohurs to diſtribute in charity; which produced none to himſelf; for Aurengzebe, as ſoon as he had performed his religious devotions, advanced from Calberga with all his banners towards Golcondah, and ſent his ſon Sultan Azim to bring ſupplies of treaſure, ſtores, troops, and artillery, from Delhi and Agra.

The army of Golcondah, again under the command of Ruſtum Roy, advanced to ſuccour the defence of the ſtrong holds, which the Mogul's army could not leave behind them untaken. But Aurengzebe committed the conduct of the war to the revolted general Ibrahim Khan, whoſe former influence in the kingdom operated more efficaciouſly than his military exertions, and continually produced defections. We find no pitched battles, but ſkirmiſhes muſt have paſſed before the king and his general ſhut themſelves up again in the fortreſs of Golcondah, which the Mogul's army inveſted
1687. in the month of January. Aurengzebe took the conduct of the ſiege, and fixed his own quarters in the city of Hyderabad.

The lower defences of Golcondah are ſix miles in circumference; above them is another circuit of much greater reſiſtance,

ance, faſhioned in ſome parts out of the native rock. We have little account of the ſiege; but according to Manouchi, who was there, the Mogul's army was obliged to raiſe and carry on a vaſt mound of earth, ſufficient for the diſplay of ſeveral batteries, until the aſſailants and defenders were brought to the brunt of ſtanding fight on the ſame level. In April the beſieged made a ſally, by which they got poſſeſſion of the mound, and maintained it until they had ruined the batteries, with all the artillery, and part of the mound itſelf. This deſtruction was not quite repaired before the rains began in June, which gave a farther reſpite. In Auguſt Sultan Azim arrived with the ſupplies he had been ſent to bring; when Aurengzebe committed the continuance of the ſiege to his conduct, and retired to a diſtant encampment. In the mean time the garriſon had received no ſupplies of proviſions, ſtores, or men, to replace what had been conſumed; nor expected any; but ſtill determined to ſtand the aſſault at the breach, which Sultan Azim avoided by purchaſing the treachery of two or three of the principal officers, with whom he concerted an attack on their guard in the night, when they agreed to abandon the defence, and kept their promiſe. It was on the twenty-ſeventh of September.* The garriſon, although ſurpriſed, made reſiſtance; but could not prevent numbers from pouring in ſufficient to overwhelm them all, when the ſlaughter became deſperate. The king concealed himſelf in the

SECT. I. 1687.

n. 83.

* Havart in Golcondah, p. 232. ſays, that the fortreſs was taken on the ſecond of October 1687.

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meaneſt office of his palace, from whence he was dragged, unknown, and had well nigh been killed in the miſtake. In the morning he was carried to Sultan Azim, who ſuffered him to continue ſtanding ſeveral hours in the ſun, waiting admittance; but relenting when he ſaw him, permitted him to ſit; and the king, in making his obeiſance for the indulgence, preſented him with a purſe full of diamonds, of which one was ſecond only to that which Emir Jumlah, at his death, had ſent to Aurengzebe by the hands of his ſon. Sultan Azim, ſtill more moved by this preſent, promiſed his interceſſion with his father, to whom he delayed not to ſend the king; but Aurengzebe received him with the moſt contumelious indignity: it is even aſſerted that he afterwards inflicted the ſcourge, to extort the diſcovery of his treaſures.

It has lately been ſaid, that Eccogi, the brother of Sevagi, holding a command in Viziapore, came with his troops ſome time after the reduction of this kingdom to Gingee; from whence he went with them to the aſſiſtance of the Naig of Tanjore, at war with him of Tritchinopoly; whom having defeated, Eccogi ſeized the government he had been called to defend. We formerly placed this revolution in 1680, and although we ſee cauſe to retract this date, cannot aſcertain the real; but diſcover Eccogi ruling in Tanjore, in the month of Auguſt of this year 1687.

n. 84.

As ſoon as Aurengzebe turned his arms againſt Golcondah, Sambagi ſaw the impending danger to his own country of Gingee, and broke the truce he had juſt concluded with the Mogul,

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Mogul, who, not ſuſpecting this preſumption, had drained the diſtricts, and forts of Viziapore of their adequate defence, in order to increaſe his ſtrength againſt Golcondah; which he had ſcarcely inveſted, as we have ſaid in January, when Sambagi, from Satarah, Pannela, and Pondah, attacked the weſtern frontiers of Viziapore with uninterrupted ſucceſs, which continued until the rains in June, when he ſent off twelve thouſand horſe to Gingee, under two commanders, the one named Keiſſwa Puntolo, the other Santogi Row; but ſuſpecting that Hargi Rajah, who had governed the country ever ſince the conqueſt of Sevagi, might ſell it and himſelf to the Mogul, he gave Keiſſwa Puntolo a ſecret inſtruction to ſeize on Hargi, and get poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Gingee. Theſe troops arrived in the Carnatic in July, where at this ſeaſon there are no rains, although prevailing in the country to the weſtward. Their march alarmed Aurengzebe, leſt they ſhould make conqueſts in the country of Myſore, which he intended to reduce, when free from more important war; and on this ſuppoſition he detached an army from the ſiege of Golcondah, which, marching weſt of the Carnatic mountains, inveſted Bengalore, before the Morattoe generals had concerted their meaſures for the ſame attack; who continued debating, and the new ones collecting offerings; but Hargi Rajah, having received intimation of Sambagi's intention againſt himſelf, effectually ſecured Gingee under his own ward and dependance; and Keiſſwa Puntolo, diſappointed in his ſcheme, treated him as if he never had had any, with much exterior

SECT. I. 1687.

reſpect. The three generals agreed to march to the relief of Bengalore; but on the way heard that the place had ſurrendered to the Mogul's army. This happened in the beginning of Auguſt; and at the ſame time came news that Aurengzebe, on advices of diſturbances in the northern parts of the empire, was compromiſing his diſpute with the king of Golcondah, and intended to proceed to Delhi. This intelligence, although falſe, removed the apprehenſion of any immediate invaſion of the Gingee country; and Hargi Rajah, confident of the attachment of his troops, lent them to Keiſſwa Puntolo; and Santogi Row, wiſhing likewiſe, for ſome perſonal reaſon, to ſtay awhile in the Carnatic, alſo gave his diviſion; and Keiſſwa Puntolo, with the whole, amounting to eighteen thouſand horſe, paſſed into the Myſore country.

The ſtrength of Golcondah, and the deſpairing reſolution of the king, had raiſed expectations of a much longer defence, for treachery had not been ſuſpected; ſo that the fall ſpread the aſtoniſhment of ſudden ruin; and moſt of the officers in thoſe countries which had not already ſubmitted, preſſed forward to make terms for themſelves; and Aurengzebe, to comfort them with hopes of indulgence, appointed their old acquaintance Ibrahim Khan, to act as his vicegerent in all affairs of the kingdom.

Six thouſand horſe were ſent, under the command of Ooffer Khan, to take in the maritime provinces from Maſulipatam to Ganjam. Maſulipatam made no reſiſtance, having been lately ravaged by a grievous peſtilence, and left by the governor,

vernor, who had retired with his treaſures, and the deteſtation of his people; but much remained to do, before the countries beyond the Godaveri could be reduced to regular obedience. That portion of the Carnatic which belonged to Golcondah was under the government of a Nabob, who kept his court at Cudapah: his name was Ally Aſcar Cawn; he had always borne good will to the Engliſh at Madraſs, and was the firſt to inform them that he was continued in his ſtation by the Mogul. Advices of the ſame purport came from the neighbouring governors of Conjeveram and Punamalee, who were both gentoos. He of Punamalee ſaid, that as the world turned round like a wheel, he had beaten his drums, and fired his guns, for the victory which the mighty Alumghire* had gained over his old maſter. So that nothing appeared to conteſt the Mogul's authority in this extenſive ſpace of country, which three weeks before acknowledged another king. But this tranquillity was of ſhort duration.

The Mogul's troops having taken Bengalore were reinforced before Keiſſwa Puntolo arrived in Myſore, and marched againſt him, who nevertheleſs maintained himſelf on the other ſide of the mountains until November, when he returned into the Carnatic, and arrived about the 10th at Trinomalee. We are ignorant whether defeat or his own choice occaſioned this retreat; but are not inclined to impute it to neceſſity; for ſuch a body of Morattoe horſe might, with their facility of avoiding encounter, have continued long in ſuch a country as Myſore,

* Name of Aurengzebe.

unleſs

SECT. I. 1687.

unleſs impaired by ſome ſignal overthrow, of which we find no mention.

On his return the grudge between him and Hargi Rajah broke out openly; the ſurrender of Gingee to the orders of Sambagi was publicly demanded and refuſed; but Hargi, fearing that reſpect to his ſovereign might at length predominate amongſt the troops of his own command, ſecured the fort of Thevenapatam, near Cudalore, as a retreat on emergency: but to keep up their attachment to himſelf by an exertion of national loyalty and the hope of plunder, he ſummoned Keiſſwa Puntolo to march and reduce the countries to the north of the Paliar, which had juſt ſubmitted to the Mogul. Keiſſwa Puntolo ſeems to have refuſed any connexion with him; on which Hargi ſent forward a detachment under the command of two officers, in whom he had ſpecial truſt, who met with no reſiſtance of any conſequence from the new converts to the Mogul government, and in a fortnight were in quiet poſſeſſion of Arcot, Conjeveram, and Punamalee, with their diſtricts, of which they ſat about collecting the revenues, favoured by the ſeaſon, for it was the end of December.

In the mean time Sambagi, inſufficiently oppoſed in Viziapore, had reduced all the country extending ſouth of Pannela, amongſt the mountains which advance beyond the gauts to the weſtward; where, the record ſays, he had taken one hundred and twenty places of note, by the end of the year. He not only aggravated his war againſt the Moguls with every ſpecies of barbarity, but even poiſoned the fair tanks of water

near

near which they might be tempted to encamp. Policy alone left no doubt of the preference between the conqueſt of the original and ſovereign power, and the reduction of its dependancy in the Carnatic; but indignation likewiſe prompted this reſolution; and Aurengzebe, who rarely diſcovered his emotions when extreme, ſwore that he would never return to Delhi until he had ſeen the head of Sambagi weltering at his feet. SECT. I. 1687.

Accordingly, in the beginning of January, 1688, he iſſued orders for the march of his army and Omrah's to Viziapore; but not willing to truſt Ibrahim Khan during his abſence with the government of the kingdom he had betrayed, ſent him, but honourably, to govern the province of Lahore; and appointed his ancient ſervant, Rohilla Cawn, to Golcondah. Aurengzebe led the two captive kings in his train, and received their daily obeiſance at the hour of his public appearance, as if delighted with the contemplation of their mutual anguiſh and his own pre-eminence, and determined that each ſhould ſee the vanquiſhed capital of the other, gazing on the fallen majeſty of both. 1688.

For two months before his departure he had ſeveral times iſſued and revoked orders for the march of a large detachment to Cudapah, from whence they were to proceed with the troops of that government to attack the Gingee country, where the reports of their approach had kept Keiſſwa Puntolo, and Santogi Row, making preparations of defence: but finding that no troops croſſed the Kriſtna, although Hargi Rajah's detachment had taken poſſeſſion of the country to the north

of

SECT. I. 1688.

of the Paliar, they moved likewiſe; and, after little reſiſtance, took Chittapett and Covrepauk; and, about the middle of January, eſtabliſhed a general and ſuperior ſtandard at Conjeveram, which Hargi's detachment, if they did not obey, did not oppoſe; and both agreed in getting all they could by the plunder of the open country, to which, beſides the propenſity of uſage, they were prompted by the certainty that the army they had ſo long expected was in actual march from Golcondah into the Carnatic.

This army was commanded by an officer named Mahomed Sadick. It conſiſted of twelve thouſand Mogul horſe, but a greater number of foot, which were of little efficacy, as being the ordinary troops of tributary Rajahs and Polygars. They arrived in the middle of February, and were the firſt army in the ſervice of the Moguls, which ever entered the Carnatic.

The Morattoes left Conjeveram on their approach, and retired to their neareſt forts on each ſide of the Paliar. The Mogul general made it his firſt care to put ſtrong garriſons into Punamalee and Vandivaſh, which the Morattoes had not had time to reduce, and ſoon after encamped under Vandivaſh with the main body of his army; but kept detachments abroad, with the oſtenſible purpoſe of oppoſing the depredations of the Morattoes; inſtead of which theſe detachments rarely refrained from committing the ſame exceſſes themſelves. Multitudes were continually flocking to the protection of Madras, of which the Mogul's and the Morattoe generals complained, and demanded the ſurrender of ſuch as carried away any thing

of

of value; not without accuſing the Engliſh government of partiality: and offence to either ſide was dangerous; for the Mogul's troops were often at the gates of Madraſs, whoſe factories of Cudalore and Conimeer, in the Gingee country, were expoſed to the inſults of Morattoe detachments; and the company's inveſtment, widely diffuſed, to the plunder of both. SECT. I. 1688.

The Morattoe generals, to oppoſe the Mogul encampment at Vandivaſh, kept the main of their army at Chittapett, within a day's march; but neither did more than obſerve the other; for, excepting a few accidental ſkirmiſhes between plundering parties, the year paſſed without any enterprize of hoſtility; but the country was deſolated.

Aurengzebe continued throughout this year in the city of Viziapore, ſuperintending with the utmoſt attention the war againſt Sambagi. The numbers and artillery of the Mogul's army recovered all the towns and forts in the opener country, which Sambagi had reduced whilſt they were employed againſt Golcondah; but his holds on hills and mountains were inexpugnable; and all that could be done againſt them was, to ſtation troops in ſuch of the neighbouring ſituations as might beſt repreſs the garriſons above from deſcending to plunder in the plain, who, from their back country and the gauts, were ſupplied, when neceſſary, by ſecreted parties, with proviſions. Even Pannela, which Sambagi made his own retreat and capital during this war, was continually inveſted, but with

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no proſpect of ſurrender at the end of the year, when Aurengzebe, convinced of the improbability of getting Sambagi into his power by dint of open hoſtility, recurred to other means.

That propenſity to women which the wiſdom of his father Sevagi-ſeems to have early foreſeen as the germ of Sambagi's deſtruction, had increaſed with his manhood and power. It waſted not his time in the allurements of dalliance, but his variety was inſatiable; and every beauty he heard of became the object of his acquiſition, in deſpite of all parental and religious reſentment. Cablis Cawn, as mentioned before, was the procurer of his pleaſures, and from this connexion gained ſome ſhare of his confidence in the affairs of his government, without any political ability, and a conſiderable command in the army, with very little courage. He ſeems by his name and manners to have been a Mahomedan. Aurengzebe tried, and found no difficulty in tampering and ſucceeding with ſuch a character, but was obliged to leave the mode to his own judgment, who conſulting, above all other conſiderations, his own ſecurity, riſqued no attempt on Sambagi's life by poiſon or aſſaſſination, but waited for ſome leſs dangerous means of treachery, which occurred in the month of June.

n. 85.

n. 86.

It is well known that the marriages of the Hindoos are contracted by the parents during the earlieſt infancy of the children, who from that time are kept ſeparate in their own families, until the virgin wife arrives at the real age of nubility, when

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when ſhe is ſent home with much pomp to the houſe of her huſband. This proceſſion is generally made in the night, accompanied by many lights, and is held ſacred from all interruption. A young Hindoo of diſtinction, and much beauty, was to be carried to her huſband; and the repreſentation of Cablis Cawn, who pretended to have ſeen her, eaſily perſuaded Sambagi to ſeize her. He put himſelf at the head of a ſmall ſquadron of horſe; but for fear of accidents in this time of hoſtility, Cablis Cawn was to follow at a diſtance with a much larger body. We are ignorant from which of his ſtrong holds this intemperate excurſion was made, but believe from Pannela, of which the inveſtment might have been raiſed by the advice of Cablis Cawn. The onſet of Sambagi had ſcarcely diſperſed the proceſſion, when his party was attacked by a detachment of Mogul cavalry, who, apprized of his perſon, refrained from his life, and ſeized him at the unreſiſted riſque of his ſword. They then proceeded againſt the body with Cablis Cawn, who pretended reſiſtance only to be taken.

Sambagi appeared before Aurengzebe with undaunted brow, who reproached Cablis Cawn, not with his treachery, but the encouragement which his proſtituted miniſtry had given to vices which at length had led his ſovereign to ruin; and ordered him to inſtant death. To Sambagi he proffered life, and rank in his ſervice, if he would turn Mahomedan, who anſwered by an invective againſt the prophet, and the land of his own gods. On which he was dreſſed in the fan-

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taſtic ornaments of a wandering Indian devotee, who beg in villages with a rattle and a cap with bells. In this garb he was tied, looking backwards, upon a camel, and led through the camp, calling on all the Rajpoots he ſaw to kill him, but none dared. After the proceſſion his tongue was cut out, as the penalty of blaſpheming Mahomed. In this forlorn condition Aurengzebe, by a meſſage, again offered to preſerve his life if he would be converted, when he wrote, "Not if you "would give me your daughter in marriage;" on which his execution was ordered, and performed by cutting out his heart, after which his limbs and body were ſeparated, and all together were thrown to dogs prepared to devour them. Manouchi ſays that Aurengzebe beheld and enjoyed the ſpectacle, which is ſcarcely credible. Neverthelefs, human nature wonders at his inflexible cruelty, as much as it admires the invincible courage of Sambagi, whoſe death produced not the expected effect of ſubmiſſion from any part of the Morattoe government, which it only animated the more to continue the war. But our narrative muſt now reſume, as well as it can, the Engliſh concerns in the empire from the end of 1685.

END OF THE FIRST SECTION.

NOTES

TO THE

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS,

&c.

NOTE I.

PAGE 4, line 16. *Fragments, which the want of more materials diſables us from diſpoſing into a more regular form.*]—We are not without hopes that ſome of the many in India, who have the means, will ſupply the portions of information which are deficient in theſe Fragments, and muſt otherwiſe always continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth the enquiry; for, beſides the magnitude of the events, and the energy of the characters, which ariſe within this period, there are no ſtates or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation have either connexion or concern, who do not owe the origin of their preſent condition to the reign of Aurengzebe, or to its influence on the reigns of his ſucceſſors. SECT. I.

NOTE

SECT. I.

NOTE II.

Page 4, line 21. *The enquiries of Europeans have not hitherto procured any hiſtory of Aurengzebe, compoſed by a native of Indoſtan, which extends beyond the 13th year of his reign, anſwering to 1671 of our æra.*]—The following accounts relating to the reign of Aurengzebe have been brought to Europe, and we have acquired no information of any others. We give the titles as publiſhed by thoſe who procured the manuſcripts.

I. "ALUMGUIRNAMA, by *Munſhi Mahommed Kazm ben "Mahommed Amîn Munſhi;* containing the hiſtory of India "and Aurengzebe, from Sultan Darah Sheckowh's firſt con- "fining his father Shah Jehan, until the 13th year of Aureng- "zebe's reign; wherein is a full account of the means he uſed "to cut off his brothers, and ſecure the empire to himſelf."—This book belonged to Mr. Frazer, and, with the whole collection he brought from India, is in the Radcliffe library: but there is a miſtake in the title, although given by Mr. Frazer himſelf; for the hiſtory does not extend beyond the 10th year of Aurengzebe's reign.

II. "KELMAT TYBAT; all the remarkable ſayings (or *bon "mots)* of the great Mogul Aurengzebe, with copies of all the "letters, notes, &c. he wrote himſelf." This book likewiſe belonged to Mr. Frazer, and is in the Radcliffe library. The letters and notes have no dates, either of time or place.

The

The four following manuſcripts belonged to Mr. Dow. SECT. I.

III. "MIRAT UL WARIDAT, or the Mirror of Occurrences, "written by Mahomed Shuffia of Delhi. He undertook the "work at the requeſt of Byram Chan, in the reign of Maho- "med Shah. He profeſſes the book to be a continuation of "the work of Feriſhta, and it contains a compendious hiſtory "of the Mogul empire, from the death of Acbar to the inva- "ſion of Nadir Shah." The whole life of Aurengzebe muſt therefore be in this hiſtory, ſince it comes down to the reign of his great grandſon; but we ſuppoſe very ſuccinctly, ſince Mr. Dow himſelf has not continued the life of Aurengzebe beyond the year 1669, the 11th of his reign.

IV. "ROSE NAMMA, or a Journal of the firſt ten years of "Aurengzebe, by *Mirza Caſſim*, the ſon of *Mirza Amin*, pri- "vate ſecretary to Aurengzebe; our author (Mirza Caſſim) "ſucceeded his father in that office."

V. "ALLUMGIRE NAMMA; or the Hiſtory of Allumgire or "Aurengzebe, by the ſame. This work is little more than an "abridgment of the above." It is then the ſame as the ALUMGUIRNAMA *of Mr. Frazer*, N° I. who calls Mirza Caſſim, Mahomed Kazm.

VI. "MIRAT ALLUM, or the Mirror of the World; by "Nazir Buchtar Chan, a man of letters, who led a private "life near Feridabad, within a few miles of Agra. This work "contains the hiſtory of the firſt ten years of Aurengzebe."

VII. "NOBA-

SECT. I.

VII. "NOBAVAH MOUNIR; or Splendid Intelligence; "being letters of Aurengzebe to his vizirs, governors of pro- "vinces, &c." This manuſcript in 12°. was brought by Mr. Anquetil du Perron from India, and depoſited by him in the king's library at Paris. We are ignorant what lights it might afford to the hiſtory of Aurengzebe.

NOTE III.

Page 4, line 24. Mr. FRAZER *ſays,—that he (Aurengzebe) forbad his life to be written.*]—Mr. Frazer does not ſay this in his Nadir Shah; but it is mentioned in a note by the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, with whom it is probable that Mr. Frazer was acquainted.

NOTE IV.

Page 4, line 25. CATROU.]—The Jeſuit, known by other works, wrote the Hiſtory of the Mogul Emperors, from the memoirs of MANOUCHI, who had been phyſician to Sultan Mauzum. We find Manouchi at Madraſs in the year 1691; but Catrou ſays, that the memoirs which he received from him came down to the year 1700. Mr. Anquetil du Perron, in his Legiſlation Orientale, publiſhed in 1778, ſays, that he ſaw the manuſcript of Manouchi in the year 1763, in the library of the Jeſuits of the MAISON PROFESSE. We are informed

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informed that this manuſcript was not inſerted in the catalogue of the ſale, when the effects of the Jeſuits were confiſcated in 1773; nor had it been reſerved for the king's library. It is ſuppoſed to have been carried into Holland, and is well worth recovering.

The 3d and 4th volumes of Catrou's hiſtory, comprize a general view of the whole reign of Aurengzebe, and the only one within the reach of thoſe who are not verſant in the Perſic; not that we know that any ſuch exiſts even in this language. The ſtile of Catrou is eſteemed elegant; he gives ſeveral ſtriking narrations, but ſeems to have deſpiſed much attention to chronological arrangement, and ſome of the few dates he gives are erroneous. We have taken largely from this work.

NOTE V.

Page 5, line 3. "*Is a ſhameleſs apology for the depoſal*, &c. &c."]—The condition of the writer, compoſing under the terror of Aurengzebe's inſpection and diſpleaſure, accounts for this panegyric. Mr. Boughton Rouſe,* with that reſpect to letters which always diſtinguiſheth thoſe who are capable of cultivating them with ſucceſs, has on all occaſions ſupplied us with the informations which his knowledge could furniſh to our ignorance of the Perſic language: he read in this view two hundred pages of the ALUMGUIRNAMA, and gave us the character we have given of this work, which is very voluminous.

* Now Sir C. W. Rouſe Boughton, Bart. See Life, page xliii.

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NOTE VI.

Page 5, line 21. "*Aurengzebe held this government under his father.*]—Aurengzebe having behaved with great intrepidity in separating two elephants who were fighting, his father Shah Jehan took great affection to him, created him ten hazari,* and gave him the government of the Decan, for which he departed in June 1633."

"In this year (1633) Mauhabat Cawn takes Doultabad, from which Sidi Amber, who was governor of it, took flight. This seems to have been before the firft coming of Aurengzebe into the Decan."

"Aurengzebe reduced all the rebels there, was recalled to court, and returned thither with Mauhabat Cawn at the end of the year 1634."

"Towards the end of this year (1634) we believe, Shah Jehan takes the road to Doultabad."

"In 1635 Saow (the father of Sevagi) a powerful Zemindar, having got poffeffion of the eftates of the children of Nizamalmuluck, Shah Jehan drove him out of them, and his generals took the greateft part of the fortreffes of the country."

"After reducing Bundelcund and its Rajah, Aurengzebe appears again in the Decan in 1637, made the conqueft of the country of Bagland; Bardge, Rajah of the country, having fubmitted to the prince, was made three hazari,† and had

* Commander of ten thoufand horfe. † Commander of three thoufand horfe.

Sultanpour

Sultanpour in Jaghire. Ramnagur was likewiſe given to him, on the terms of paying a tribute of 100,000 R."

" 1639. Kaloundgi, Rajah in the territories of Nizamalmuluck, after having ſubmitted to Aurengzebe, and revolted, periſhed in his rebellion."

" 1649. Morad Bukſh, who had been recalled from Balk in 1646, is in this year recalled from the Decan, and theſe four provinces are given to Chaeſt Khan."

" In 1651 Aurengzebe marched to beſiege Candahar; in 1652 he raiſed the ſeige, was recalled from Cabul, and ſent to the Decan."

" In 1654 Aurengzebe, by his lieutenants, forced the Rajah of Deoughir to pay tribute." *

NOTE VII.

Page 6, line 7. SEVAGI *was the founder of the Morattoe nation.*]—The relations of all the travellers who were on the weſtern ſide of India during his life, after it became an object of fame, ſpeak more or leſs of his exploits. We ſhall enumerate the accounts in which we have found any information concerning him.

1. TAVERNIER was in India at various intervals from 1642 to 1666: he journied through moſt of the provinces of the

* From M. Gentil's MS. in French, in the poſſeſſion of the author at the time the above note was written, but now in the library of the Honourable the Eaſt India Company, with the reſt of Mr. Orme's original manuſcripts. See note 49.

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empire, and in more directions than any other traveller. He tells, although very ſuccinctly, the origin of SEVAGI's fortune, and mentions him tranſiently on another occaſion.

II. BERNIER, well known, he arrived at Surat in 1655, and left India, at the lateſt, in 1667. He ſpeaks of SEVAGI as an adventurous chieftain, emerging into notice.

III. THEVENOT, not Melchizedec, but his nephew, who, as well as he, had received a liberal education. He travelled to acquire knowledge; and, after viſiting Conſtantinople, went into Egypt and Syria. In this voyage he employed four years, from May 1655 to April 1659. After his return to France, he devoted four years more to ſuch ſtudies as might improve his diſcernment, and then ſat out for Perſia and India. He arrived at Surat, from Buſſorah, on the 6th of November 1665, and immediately went to Ahmedabad and Cambay. He then travelled acroſs the peninſula, from Surat to Maſulipatnam, by Aurengabad and Golcondah: returned by Golcondah, Beder, Patri, and Brampore; and embarked from Surat for Perſia, in February 1667: ſo that the whole of his continuance in India did not exceed fifteen months. He died on the 6th November of the ſame year, at the town of Miana,* in Perſia, to the great loſs of coſmographical knowledge; ſince the poſthumous publication of his journal and obſervations in

* Miana petite ville ſituée dans un lieu marecageux, & où on paye un droit pour la garde des chemins. C'eſt où mourut Monſieur Thevenot en revenant d'Iſpahan. Il avoit ramaſſu pluſieurs livres Perſans et Arabes, et le Cadi de Miana retent des meilleurs." Tavernier.

India

India are deprived of many additions and explanations which he had entruſted to his memory. Nevertheleſs, no relation of this country contains ſo much and ſuch valuable intelligence, acquired in ſo ſhort a time, or comprized in leſs extent of writing. We imagine that he was aſſiſted by the Capuchins of Surat, who have always been attentive to the affairs of the empire, for the ſake of their religion; and the ſcribe whom Thevenot hired was converſant with good authorities. He treats of SEVAGI to the year 1664, with better information, according to our judgment, than any of the other travellers: and every other mention which he accidentally makes of him affords ſome light to be relied on, and worthy of attention.

IV. CARRÉ accompanied the French director-general Carron, and arrived at Surat in 1668, from whence he was diſpatched with the letters of Mr. Carron to the miniſter Colbert, in February 1671. He paſſed through Arabia, and arrived in France in the October following. He was diſpatched back to Surat in 1672, and from hence was ſent by Mr. Carron, with advices to Monſieur de la Haye, beſieged in San Thomé; but from the ſuperiority of the Dutch in theſe ſeas, proceeded acroſs the continent, going firſt to Daman, and then to Chaul; from whence to Upper Chaul, where he was treated with much civility by SEVAGI'S officer, and received his paſs, which carried him, without hindrance, to the city of Viziapore, where we find him in January 1673. Here he fell ill, and ſays nothing more of his journey; but it appears

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pears from the journal of Monſieur de la Haye, that he arrived at San Thomé on the 26th of April.

Carré publiſhed two ſmall volumes of what he heard and ſaw in his travels, with very careleſs arrangement, little attention to dates, and many ſtories, of which the only one of any importance is a hiſtory of SEVAGI, divided into two portions, one in each volume. All he ſays in the firſt, which relates only to the outſet of SEVAGI's fortune, is either erroneous or too confuſed to be reduced to order: but the ſecond part affords better information, although only concerning his operations in the years 1671 and 1672. He admires SEVAGI's character with enthuſiaſm; compares him to Guſtavus Adolphus and Julius Cæſar, and aſcribes to him all the qualities of a conſummate hero and ſovereign.

V. DELLON, the phyſician, ſailed from France in March 1668, and, after ſome employment at the ſettlements on Madagaſcar and Bourbon, arrived at Surat in September 1669, from whence he ſailed, in the beginning of 1670, with the orders to remove the French factory at Beliapatam to Tellicherry, where they eſtabliſhed a houſe in the month of June. This was ſeveral years before the Engliſh ſettled there. In the way the ſhip ſtopped at Rajapore and Mirzeou, where the French company had likewiſe factories. From Tellicherry Dellon was occaſionally employed in their concerns of trade at Callicut, Tanore, and Chaly, and incidentally ſaw Bergerah and Cognally, which lie between Callicut and Tellicherry. In the

the month of June 1671, Flacour, the French agent, went from hence to ſettle a trade at Seringapatam, the capital of Myſore. Dellon intending to accompany him, went as far as the foot of the mountains, but was deterred there by the exceſſive violence of the torrents, and came back: Flacour perſiſted, and returned from Seringapatam in November. In January 1672, Dellon ſailed from Tellicherry on his return to Surat: the ſhips ſtopped at Mangalore, at Mirzeou, from whence they withdrew the factory, at Goa, Atchara, and Rajapore, and arrived at Surat in the middle of March. From hence he ſailed in November in a ſhip of force, ſent to convoy home another of value from Gombroon. The two were met in their return, off Diu, by four which were cruizing for them, and all together put into Bombay in January 1673, from whence they arrived at Surat in the beginning of February. In March Dellon travelled by land to Daman, where he remained exerciſing his profeſſion until the end of the year. On the firſt of January 1674 he ſailed from Daman, and having touched at Baſſein, arrived at Goa on the 14th. In this city he continued two years, and ſailed for Liſbon and France in January 1676.

Dellon directed his obſervations principally to the manners and cuſtoms of the people he ſaw, and to the nature of the country; he, however, gives ſome account of their princes, and mentions SEVAGI oftener than any other, with whom the intereſts of his voyage had ſo little concern: but ſays nothing

of

SECT. I. of him where he muſt have heard much, during his reſidence at Goa. His voyage is curious and eſteemed.

VI. DE GRAAF, the ſurgeon, made ſix voyages to the Eaſt Indies, in the ſervice of the Dutch company. His firſt outſet from Holland was in the year 1640, his laſt return in 1687, a period of remarkable length in ſuch wearifome employment. In each voyage he was detained ſeveral years abroad, and ſent to different parts, where the Dutch had concerns or ſettlements, and ſeems to have been at them all. He gives much and various information. The firſt mention he makes of SEVAGI, is where it might be leaſt expected, when he was travelling in Bengal; but what he ſays of him there has aſſiſted our narrative: when nearer the operations of SEVAGI, he mentions him only once.

VII. JOURNAL *du voyage des grands Indes, contenant tout ce qui s'y eſt fait et paſſé par l'eſcadre de ſa majeſté, envoyée ſous le commandement de* MONS^r. DE LA HAYE, *depuis ſon depart de la Rochelle au mois de Mars* 1670. Monſieur de la Haye was detained by attentions at Madagaſcar, and the iſles of Bourbon and Mauritius, where the French had ſettlements, and did not arrive at Surat until October 1671. After much trouble and oppoſition from the Dutch fleet, in his attempt to form an eſtabliſhment in the bay of Trinconomalee, he ſailed to the coaſt of Coromandel, and took San Thomé by aſſault, on the 25th of July 1672. The place, at this time, belonged to the king of Golcondah, againſt whoſe forces, finally

assisted by the Dutch, Mr. De la Haye defended it with the utmost gallantry for more than two years, until the 5th of September 1674. SEVAGI, as we shall see, profited of this diversion of the forces of Golcondah. SECT. I.

VIII. RELATION *ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, &c.* Paris, 1677, 12°. in the Saint John Baptist, which arrived at Surat on the 26th October 1671, and sailed in January 1672, with Mr. De la Haye's squadron, to Trinconomalee, where the writer was taken by the Dutch in May, and carried to Bengal, and the prisons of Batavia. He speaks of SEVAGI, but with little intelligence, calling him a relation of the Great Mogul: and we only mention this journal, to prevent the expectation of any thing material in it.

IX. FRYER, the physician, sailed from England on the 9th of December 1672, arrived on the coast of Coromandel in June, and from hence at Bombay in December 1673. In September 1674 he went to Surat, and returned to Bombay in April 1675: in May he travelled to Jenneah Gur, and after the rains in October sailed from Bombay for Carwar, and went from hence to Goa in December. In the beginning of 1676 he went to Vingorlah, then to Gocurn, in the Carnatic country; and having passed the rains of this year at Carwar, went again to Goa in October, and from hence arrived in December at Surat. In February 1677 he sailed from Surat for Gombroon, and continued in Persia until the 30th of November 1678, when he embarked on his return, and arrived at Surat on the

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6th of January 1679, where he ſeems to have continued until he ſailed for England in January 1681.

The Engliſh concerns from Surat to Carwar were often affected by the operations of SEVAGI, whilſt Fryer continued in India, who accordingly learnt much concerning him, but wanted leiſure to digeſt his informations into a regular narrative, which it is impoſſible now to do, ſince his mentions of SEVAGI, although very frequent, are generally interwoven with other ſubjects, and without dates. Nevertheleſs, our attention to what Fryer ſays of him firſt led us to diſcover that SEVAGI was the founder of the preſent nation of MORATTOES, for at that time we had not ſeen Catrou, nor conſulted the UNIVERSAL HISTORY: and diviſions as well as misfortunes in the lineage ſeem to have confounded this knowledge, even in the apprehenſion of the Europeans reſiding in India, ever ſince the beginning of the preſent century: nor do the cotemporary travellers or records ever call the people or armies which SEVAGI governed or commanded, MORATTOES; they are always called *Sevagees* as a people, or the troops of SEVAGI.

X. HISTOIRE *de* SEVAGI, *et de ſon ſucceſſeur, Nouveaux Conquerans dans l' Inde*, by Pere D'Orleans, Jeſuit, added to his *Hiſtoire des deux Conquerans Tartares qui ont ſubjugué, la Chine*. Paris, 1688. 8°. This account, which is very ſhort, is compoſed from one written at Goa. It does not give a ſingle date, and only a few facts, without preciſion, and better known

known before. What he ſays of Sambagi was at the time leſs known, but is very imperfect. SECT. I.

MANOUCHI, ſufficiently mentioned before under CATROU, Note III. MANOUCHI accompanied Sultan Mauzum in all his campaigns againſt SEVAGI, concerning whom he has furniſhed CATROU with more information than is to be found in any other writer.

Theſe are all the accounts cotemporary with the life of SEVAGI, which have come to our knowledge; and he is mentioned in them all. We have examined two others which are of modern date.

XI. "HISTORY of INDOSTAN, from the death of AKBAR *to* "*the complete ſettlement of the empire under* AURENGZEBE. "*To which are prefixed, &c. By* ALEXANDER DOW, *Eſq*; "*Lieutenant Colonel in the Company's ſervice.* London 1772." in quarto. This work is intended as a continuation of Ferishta's hiſtory, of which Mr. Dow had before publiſhed a tranſlation. Mr. Dow gives the following account of the means and materials which enabled him to compoſe this continuation. "THOUGH the author of this volume derives by "far the greateſt part of his facts from Eaſtern writers, he "has not overlooked the interrupted glimpſes of the tranſac- "tions in the Mogul empire, preſerved by intelligent Euro- "peans, who travelled the laſt century into India. He relies "upon their authority with regard to what they had *ſeen.* "He prefers the accounts of domeſtic writers to what they

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" only *heard*. He draws his informations chiefly from the " following authors; and the originals are at this moment in " his hands." They are enumerated, and are ſix hiſtories in the Perſic language. The Perſic hiſtorians in general, as Mahomedans, are not very curious or exact in their accounts of the Hindoos or Europeans. Accordingly, the firſt mention which Mr. Dow makes of SEVAGI, is in the year 1661, when he ſtiles him Sewâji, prince of Cokin, or Concan; and this part of his ſtory continues to the year 1663. It is reſumed in 1665, and 1666; again in 1667; after which nothing more is ſaid of him, although SEVAGI had much concern in an event which Mr. Dow places in the year 1668, who does not continue the reign of Aurengzebe beyond the year 1669.

XII. " *A ſhort hiſtorical Narrative of the riſe and rapid ad-* " *vancement of the* MARATTAH STATE, *to the preſent ſtrength,* " *and conſequence it has acquired in the Eaſt. Written originally* " *in Perſian, and tranſlated into Engliſh by an Officer in the Eaſt* " *India Company's ſervice.* London, 1782." Octavo. The author is Mr. Alexander Kerr, who, ſtudying the Perſic language, tranſlated, for his improvement, this tract, compoſed under his own inſpection, from Perſian Manuſcripts, by the ſcribe whom he employed to teach him. The intention was meritorious, and will probably induce Mr. Kerr to make farther enquiries when he returns to India. Mr. Kerr ſays, the Perſian manuſcripts " are the only hiſtorical guide to this

" ſubject, ſince the MAHRATTAHS themſelves (as far as I have " been able to find out) have no ſuch of their own." " Oral " tradition, and the beſt received accounts of the more recent " times, ſupplied the reſt." Mr. Kerr's account traces an independant MAHRATTAH principality, exiſting in the Decan as far back as two hundred years from the preſent time. We had compiled all we now ſay of SEVAGI, and after him, of the Morattoes, until the year 1689, before Mr. Kerr's work was publiſhed; and have changed nothing in conſequence, but reſt on our own enquiries.

Beſides the publications we have enumerated, we have gained information concerning SEVAGI, and of events to a later period concerning the early times of the Morattoes, from cotemporary records belonging to the Eaſt India company. The earlieſt which mentions SEVAGI is of the year 1671. Could we have diſcovered the whole ſeries with the collateral branches of correſpondence, from the year 1650, the FRAGMENTS we now publiſh would have acquired ſome authentic additions, but the labour would have exceeded the conception of any of our readers, excepting the keeper of the records at the India-houſe.

NOTE VIII.

Page 6, line 8. *He* (SEVAGI) *drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore, who boaſt their deſcent from Porus, and are eſteemed the moſt ancient eſtabliſhment of Hindoo princes, and the*

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the nobleſt of the Rajpoot tribes.] This deſcent from Porus is mentioned by Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier, Thevenot; but the AIJIN ACBARRI, which is a general deſcription of the empire, compiled by the order of Acbar, under the inſpection of his learned general Abdul Fazel, makes the Rajahs of Chitore deſcend from Nouſchirvan, the king of Perſia; the ſame as Coſroes, who warred ſo long with Juſtinian, and after a reign of forty-eight years, died in 570. A very ſtrange genealogy of a Hindoo and Rajhpoot Rajah; for Coſroes was of the religion of Zoroaſter, or the worſhippers of fire; who, although confined to many abſtinences, were not reſtrained from eating beef.

NOTE IX.

Page 7, line 3. *Stabbed him with his own hand, by a device, which, if practicable, could not be ſuſpected.*]—Thus deſcribed by Catrou: "Il fit attacher un biſtouri des mieux aguiſez à "une bague qu'il portoit au doigt. Le biſtouri tournoit "aiſément autour de la bague, et pour lors il etoit caché dans "l'ombre de ſa main."

NOTE X.

Page 7, line 20. *Pannela was one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the Concan, towards the capital of Viziapore.*]—This place is as often ſpelt Parnela. Mr. D'Anville, in whom Europe has lately

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lately loſt the firſt geographer of the world,* has a *Parnel*, twenty miles to the north-weſt of Ahmednagur; but this ſituation does not agree with the moleſtations to which Viziapore was expoſed from our Pannela; becauſe Ahmednagur, a capital city, and a frontier place of arms belonging to the Mogul, lay between. And this reaſon excludes the Parnir, which ariſes in our map of the Decan, and is ſtill farther diſtant in the ſame direction. At length we diſcovered a better approximation in a manuſcript account of the Decan, procured for the aſſiſtance of our labours, with ſeveral other valuable documents,† by our ancient and very intelligent friend, General Richard Smith, whilſt commanding the army in Bengal. The manuſcript ſeems to have been compoſed from the archives of the Decan, at ſome time between the years 1750 and 1758. It divides the Decan into ſix *ſubahs* or provinces; the *ſubahs* into their *circars*, or governments; the *circars* into their *purgunnahs*, or diſtricts. Places of note are occaſionally deſcribed, and ſome with particular circumſtances. The revenues, as rated in the king's books, are mentioned, excepting in the circars under the SUBAH of VIZIAPORE. One of the circars of this ſubah is thus deſcribed:

"CIRCAR OF NABICHADOUROUK.

"It is likewiſe called PARNALA. It contains nine pur-
"gunnahs:

* Mr. D'Anville died at Paris, on the 28th of January 1782, aged 80 years.

† Now in the library of the Honourable the Eaſt India Company.

"The

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" The adjacencies or *environs of Parnala, Darkehay,
" *Sarala, Mapatan, Azamtara, Mandal, Tchitpêt, Koundelgora,*
" *Matora.*

" Theſe purgunnahs have (villages, the number not men-
" tioned) which give (rupees, the ſum not mentioned).

" To the eaſt of this circar, the purgunnahs of *Raibaug,*
" and the circar of *Merdsje;* to the north, the fortreſs of
" *Djoumer;* to the weſt, the defiles of Concan, and the circar
" of *Mouſtaphabad* (which is Dabul) and a part of the circar
" of *Azamnagur.*

" The *Kriſtna* enters this circar from the defile of the
" mountains, with the river of Malvanar, which it joins,
" and afterwards goes into the purgunnahs of Satara;
" to the eaſt of which are ſprings, which flow into the
" Pourna; which river goes to the ſouth, and afterwards
" joins the Kriſtna."

It is evident from this account, that PARNALA is the capital of the circar of NABICHADOUROUK. *Raibaug* and *Merdsje* are cities which Mr. D'Anville has adjuſted in the road from *Viziapore* to *Dabul* on the ſea; which ſtanding northward of Satara, placeth the circar of *Parnala* on the eaſtern ſide of the gauts behind Dabul, from which it extends north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt towards *Merdsje* and *Raibaug.* Although this does not aſcertain, no other account that we have ſeen, ſuggeſts the leaſt gueſs whereabouts the fortreſs of Parnala is ſituated.

NOTE

NOTE XI.

Page 11, line 1. CHAEST KHAN, *the ſubah of the conquered territories in the Decan, and uncle to the emperor by marriage.*] CHAEST KHAN is perhaps more properly called *Shaiſta Cawn*, by Mr. Dow, from whom we ſhall endeavour to trace his family.

Aiaſs, a Tartar, had relations in the court of Acbar, and having nothing of his own, but his abilities, travelled in queſt of fortune to Delhi, accompanied only by his wife, who was delivered in the deſert of a daughter, which, for want of means to carry her on, he expoſed; but, relenting at the agonies of the mother, returned juſt in time to reſcue the infant from the jaws of a ſerpent. Their wants were ſoon after relieved by other travellers.

The talents of Aiaſs raiſed him, through a ſucceſſion of employments in the reign of Acbar, to the office of treaſurer of the empire, with the title of Actimâd ul Dowlah. In the mean time his daughter of the deſert became the firſt of women, in beauty, accompliſhments, and allurements. Selim, who ſucceeded his father Acbar, with the name of Jehangire, ſaw her, and was captivated; but ſhe was already betrothed; and Acbar, from religious juſtice, would not ſuffer the bonds to be broken. She was accordingly married to Shere Afkun, whom Jehangire, when in poſſeſſion of the throne, procured,

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after ſeveral attempts, to be murdered; when his wife, Mher ul Niſſa, was ſent to the emperor's ſeraglio, which had been the object of her ambition ever ſince ſhe firſt unveiled herſelf to his ſight. But, according to the ſtory, ſhe continued long there in diſappointment; for Jehangire, it is ſaid, refrained from ſeeing her for four years, during which he had ſtruggled with his paſſion to no purpoſe; for the firſt interview vanquiſhed all his reſolution, and the very next day he iſſued orders for the celebration of their nuptials; when her name of Mher ul Niſſa, or the ſun of women, was changed to Noor Mahil,* the light of the ſeraglio; and afterwards to Noor Jehan, or, light of the world. Her power over Jehangire was abſolute to the end of his life. For a while ſhe held the government of Guzerat, with the title of ſubah; during which rupees were ſtruck at Ahmedabad with this inſcription: "In the 13th of
A.C. 1618. "the inſtallation, 1028 of the Hegira, Noor Jehan, wife of the "king Jehangire, ſon of the king Acbar, being governeſs of "Ahmedabad." It was likewiſe during this government, as we believe, that ſhe ſtruck gold rupees, or mohurs, with this not inelegant legend: "By order of the king Jehangire. "Gold has acquired a hundred degrees of excellence, in re-"ceiving the name of Noor Jehan." †

* See Eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh Trade at Surat, now firſt publiſhed in this volume.

† The mention of theſe two coinages is taken from Mr. Anquetil du Perron, vol. 1. part 1. pages ccLxvii. and cxiv.

Her

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Her family partook of her fortune. Jehangire, on his marriage, created her father Actimâd ul Dowlah, vizir of the empire; and raiſed his two ſons, Acticad Chan and Aſiph Jah, to high honours. Of the firſt we find nothing; but Aſiph Jah, on the death of his father in 1618, ſucceeded to the office of vizir; and Jehangire permitted his own ſon, Sultan Currom, who ſucceeded to the throne with the name of Shah Jehan, to marry his daughter, Mumlaza Zemani, which ſignifies the moſt exalted of the age; beſides whom Aſiph Jah had four ſons: *Chaeſt Khan* (the occaſion of this note) who before was called Mirza Morad; Mirza Miſti, who was drowned in a drunken frolic in the river Behat, in Caſhmire; Mirza Hoſſein, of moderate abilities, and little note; Shânâvaze Khan, who roſe to much reputation and diſtinction.

Thus *Chaeſt Khan* was the nephew of the empreſs Noor Jehan, and by the marriage of his own ſiſter with Shah Jehan, became the maternal uncle of AURENGZEBE, and of his brothers Darah, Sujah, and Morad. He moreover acquired the relation of uncle by alliance to Aurengzebe and Morad, by their marriage with his nieces, the daughters of his brother Shânâvaze Khan. No private family ever made ſuch alliances with royal blood, as this of the Tartar Aiaſs, afterwards Actimâd ul Dowlah; for his own daughter, his ſon's, and the daughter of his grandſon, were married to three ſucceſſive emperors of Indoſtan; and another daughter of his grandſon, to Morad, who diſputed, and for ſome days thought himſelf in

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poſſeſſion of the throne. The emperor Shah Jehan reſpected the virtues of the daughter of Aſiph Jah, as much as his father Jehangire had been infatuated by the charms of the daughter of Actimâd ul Dowlah, and raiſed a ſepulchre at Agra to the memory of Mumlaza Zemani, which is ſaid to have coſt the enormous ſum of 750,000 pounds.*

In 1638 *Chaeſt Khan* was appointed by Shah Jehan to the government of Berar; and in 1652 to the more important command of Guzerat. In 1656 he was employed by Aurengzebe, at that time viceroy of the Decan, to ſerve as lieutenant to his eldeſt ſon Mahomed (not Mauzum) in the war of Golcondah. In the contention of Shah Jehan's ſons for the throne in 1658, he ſerved with Sultan Darah, whom he betrayed by giving intelligence and guides to Aurengzebe, which led him to turn the ſtrong intrenchments of Darah on the river Chumbul, whom this movement obliged to give battle, in order to ſave Agra, and the emperor there, when he was entirely defeated, and owed not a little of his ill ſucceſs to the farther treachery of *Chaeſt Khan*, who commanded the right wing, and retreated without making any efforts, which might have retrieved the field. Darah, haſtening to Agra, accuſed *Chaeſt Khan* to Shah Jehan, and by his order proceeded immediately to take poſſeſſion of the imperial treaſures at Delhi. *Chaeſt Khan*, relying on his friends with Aurengzebe, and at

* We have ſeen a drawing of this monument, made by an Engliſh officer in 1773.

Agra,

Agra, marched thither with unconcern, as if ſtill in the ſervice of Darah, and appeared with confidence in the emperor's preſence, who ordered him to inſtant death; but *Chaeſt Khan* reminded him, that the day was ſacred by the Alcoran from bloodſhed; on which he was reſerved for the next, when a multitude of 10,000 men of his own adherents, and Aurengzebe's, ſurrounded the citadel, and threatened to ſcale the walls, if he were not immediately releaſed; which was complied with. A few days after, Aurengzebe, with his brother Morad, encamped near Agra; meſſages paſſed, and Aurengzebe agreed to viſit his father in the citadel, who intended to ſeize him, which he ſignified in a letter to Sultan Darah at Delhi. This letter *Chaeſt Khan* intercepted, and carried to Aurengzebe; who evaded the interview, but ſent his ſon Mahomed to make the viſit; who, by a counter deception, got poſſeſſion with his own guards, of the citadel, and the perſon of the emperor his grandfather. This happened on the 15th of June 1658. Mahomed was left governor of the citadel, and *Chaeſt Khan* of the city, when Aurengzebe and Morad marched towards Delhi againſt Darah. On the way, at Mattura, Morad was ſeized by Aurengzebe, and ſent to Agra, to the ward of Mahomed and *Chaeſt Khan*. In Auguſt *Chaeſt Khan* marched to intercept Soliman Sheko, the ſon of Darah, who puſhed into Caſhmire; on which *Chaeſt Khan* returned to Agra, where he continued to the end of this year 1658, when Aurengzebe ſent him a reinforcement, from apprehenſions SECT. I.

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ſions of the attempts of Soliman Sheko, from Serinagur. Aurengzebe, in the mean time, was following Darah from Delhi to Lahore, and from Lahore to Multan, where Darah eſcaped; and Aurengzebe returned by the ſame route to Delhi, where he arrived in December, and paſſed into the Doab, which is the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, in order to encounter his brother Sultan Sujah, advancing from Bengal; whom he defeated at Kidgwah, near Allahabad, on the 15th of January 1659; and two days after, the Maha Rajah Jeſſwont Sing, who had turned againſt Aurengzebe during the battle with Sujah, plundered his camp in the enſuing night, and then maintained a running fight againſt Aurengzebe himſelf, which ſecured his booty: retreating with which, he paſſed under the walls of Agra, and was only deterred from aſſaulting the city by the haſty approach of Aurengzebe's vanguard; for *Chaeſt Khan*, who ought to have defended it, was frightened out of his ſenſes, and even made attempts to kill himſelf. From this time the war was removed to a diſtance from Agra, which left *Chaeſt Khan* out of the danger he deteſted. Darah, through various adventures, after his flight from Multan, came to Ahmedabad, where his maternal uncle, Shânâvaze Khan reſided, as Subah of the province of Guzerat; who, beſides this common relation to all the ſons of Shah Jehan, had in addition the alliance of father-in-law to Aurengzebe and Morad, to whom his daughters were married. So that, although injured by the fate

of Morad, his revenge on the perpetrator would have fallen upon one equally related to himſelf; and this conſideration, with the aſcendance of Aurengzebe's fortune, might have determined him to neutrality in the conteſt between Aurengzebe and Darah: but he was a man of goodneſs, and his daughter, the wife of Morad, was in his palace, whoſe bitter ſupplications againſt the impending murderer of her huſband prevailed on him to join the cauſe of Darah; for whom he levied an army, and marched with him towards Azmir, where they expected the Maha Rajah would, as he had promiſed, join them with all his force. Aurengzebe, on the firſt intelligence of this new confederacy, marched from Delhi through Agra to Azmir, and on the way perſuaded the Maha Rajah not to move. This diſappointment left the force of Darah and Shânâvaze Khan utterly unequal to Aurengzebe's; and obliged them to take poſt in a ſtrong ſituation, which the ſkill of ſome Europeans in Darah's ſervice rendered impregnable. Aurengzebe, as uſual, recurred to ſtratagem, and employed Debere Chan, and Jyſing, to proffer their defection on a certain day with the troops of their commands. Darah, contrary to the advice of Shânâvaze Khan, accepted their treachery; which, as ſoon as they were admitted within the lines, manifeſted itſelf by a furious attack on the camp. Shânâvaze Khan fell by the lance of Debere. Aurengzebe advanced, and Darah eſcaped with difficulty from the general defeat, but only to find no refuge in the vaſt empire to which he was heir. He truſted

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truſted to the ſhelter of gratitude, and was betrayed by the man whoſe life he had twice ſaved. He was carried as a criminal to Delhi, and put to death there by the order of Aurengzebe, on the 11th of September 1659. In the mean time, the general Emir Jumlah had driven Sultan Sujah out of Bengal; who, with his two ſons, and all his family, were ſoon after deſtroyed by the Rajah of Arracan. Thus, at the end of the year 1659, Aurengzebe was in poſſeſſion of the throne without a competitor, who was not his priſoner; for Soliman Sheko had been delivered up to him by the Rajah of Serinagur, and was with Morad confined in Guialaur; and the emperor Shah Jehan to his palace within the citadel of Agra.

In the beginning of 1660, Aurengzebe appointed *Çhaeſt Khan* to the command of the Decan; he was, without doubt, by his birth and connections, the firſt ſubject in the empire, not of the royal blood; and Aurengzebe treated him as ſuch to the end of his life.

In 1661 he engaged in the warfare againſt SEVAGI, which has brought his origin, and the revolution of Aurengzebe, under our notice.

NOTE XII.

Page 11, line 6. *Was ſtopped much longer before Chagnah.*]—The manner in which Chagnah was taken, is deſcribed by Mr. Dow, with all the circumſtances that can render it probable. The

The uſe of bombs would have precluded this invention of the kite; but nothing has occurred to our reading, which indicates that they had hitherto been made uſe of in the armies of Aurengzebe. Even at this day they are rarely uſed by the native powers of India, unleſs when aſſiſted by the diſciplined artillery-men of Europe.

NOTE XIII.

Page 14, line 4. *He was received by* Aurengzebe *with much courteſy, which continued until the ladies of the ſeraglio, incited by the wife of Chaeſt Khan, in revenge for the death of her ſon, and the diſgrace of her huſband, ſolicited Aurengzebe, not unwilling, to deſtroy him. But the high Omrahs,* &c. &c.]—Mr. Dow, we ſuppoſe from one of his Perſic manuſcripts, relates the riſques which SEVAGI incurred and eſcaped at Delhi, in a different manner from the account which we have adopted. According to Mr. Dow, SEVAGI defied Aurengzebe at the firſt audience, of which the ladies of the ſeraglio were ſpectators through the uſual curtain allowed to their curioſity; "the "daughter of Aurengzebe was ſtruck with the handſomeneſs "of his perſon, admired his pride, and haughty deportment, "and interceded at the feet of her father," who had ordered SEVAGI to be carried, as an offender, out of his ſight.

It is ſcarcely probable that the daughter of Aurengzebe ſhould, from the mere diſpoſition of the ſex to admire courage,

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take ſo much intereſt in the fate of a ſtranger, who had rendered himſelf ſo deteſtable to her relations, the family of *Chaeſt Khan*, who was her father's uncle, and the firſt ſubject in the kingdom. It is as little probable that SEVAGI's perſon ſhould have inſpired the lady with ſuch violent compaſſion. "Ce Rajah," ſays Thevenot, "eſt petit et bazané, avec des "yeux vifs qui marquent beaucoup d'eſprit." And this deſcription, as far as it goes, agrees with his picture; in which his figure, although very compact, is not elegant; and his phyſiognomy, although very ſignificant, has no beauty. Mr. Thevenot arrived at Surat within a year after SEVAGI had plundered it for the firſt time, and with the greateſt detriment; his return, for the ſame purpoſe, was continually feared, which muſt have made his life and character a conſtant ſubject of diſcuſſion amongſt thouſands, who had ſeen him ſo much to their coſt: and Mr. Thevenot had too much ſagacity to be deceived in the ſelection of what he ought to believe. We therefore prefer his authority, as low down as he treats of SEVAGI, to any other we have ſeen. See Note VII. Article 3.

NOTE XIV.

Page 16, line 10. *Their principal ſtation was at the city of* Jenneah, *which lies under the impregnable fortreſs of the ſame name.*]—Doctor Fryer was ſent from Bombay, in the month

of

of May 1674, to cure the Mogul's governor at JENNEAH; and deſcribes his journey, the city, the camp of the Mogul's army, and the fortreſs on the rock, which is called JENNEAH GUR. The governor of the fortreſs, diſtinct from him of the city, invited Mr. Fryer to aſcend the rock, and permitted him to examine the fortreſs without reſtraint; for no intelligence could hurt it. Mr. Fryer has engraved the ſtages of this journey; which we have inſerted, as well as we could, into the map which accompanies theſe FRAGMENTS. SECT. I.

NOTE XV.

Page 20, line 24. *Theſe events cloſed with the year* 1665.]—The death of Jyſing, mentioned by Bernier, confines the concluſion of this pretended revolt of Sultan Mauzum, at the lateſt, to the beginning of the year 1667. Bernier dates his letter, on the Gentiles of India, from Shiraz in Perſia, on the 4th of October 1667, ſo that he muſt at the lateſt have left India in the beginning of this year, and he ſpeaks of the death of Jyſing, as an event before his departure. Manouchi, who accompanied Sultan Mauzum, mentions expreſsly the concern which the Rajah Jyſing took in this fictitious revolt; and we have no right to impute to him ſuch a defect of memory ſupplied by invention, as we ſhould, by ſuppoſing that Jyſing was at this time dead. On the other hand, Mr. Dow places the revolt in the year 1668, and conſiders it as really

SECT. I. intended, if Sultan Mauzum could have ſeized Delire Khan, who, apprized of the deſign, marched away to Delhi. Mr. Dow makes the Maha Rajah (Jeſſwont Sing) the principal abettor of the Sultan; and does not even mention either the Rajah Jyſing or SEVAGI, in the account he gives of this buſineſs. Theſe differences can only be decided by authentic informations from India.

NOTE XVI.

Page 21, line 3. "*Shah Abbas died at Tauris in September 1666, and the infancy of his ſucceſſor changed the councils of Perſia to peace.*]—Chardin ſays, that Shah Abbas died on the 25th of September 1666, at Teber Eſtoon, a palace two leagues from Damagaan, an ancient city, which the Perſian geographers place in long. 78° 15′ lat. 37° 20′, at twelve days journey from Iſpahan, and nine from the Caſpian Sea.

His ſucceſſor was not an infant, but was entering into his twentieth year. However he knew nothing, having never been out of the ſeraglio.

The muſic continued twenty days, on account of his age. He never came out of the palace, in which he was born, until the day after he was crowned, when, according to the uſage, he rode gently round the incloſure of the palace, to ſhew himſelf to the people. He appeared diſconcerted, and his inexperience feared by the people.

NOTE

NOTE XVII.

Page 21, line 26. *The* GAUTS.]—We have met with two deſcriptions of the paſſage over the GAUTS, one at each extremity of the CONCAN. To the north, Mr. Fryer, in his journey to Jenneah in 1674*, paſſed over the GAUT of Decir, fifty miles north-eaſt of Bombay; and returned by an eaſier, called Nunny gaut, a little lower down: his deſcription ſeems to partake of the fatigue he endured. Mr. Anquetil du Perron, in his journey from Goa to Poonah and Aurengabad, in March 1758, went over the gaut of Pondah, which is thirty-five miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Goa; and ſays, "A ſept heures " et demie, je me trouvai au pied des GHATES; J'arrivai au " haut a onze heures, apres metre repoſé trois fois en route; le " chemin etoit affreux et preſque a pic; a droite & a gauche " ſe precipitoient au milieu des ronces, des arbriſſeaux et des " rochers, des torrens qui faiſoient un bruit effrayant." His deſcription of the magnificent proſpect from the ſummit towards the ſea, is ſublime. We have inſerted his route from Goa to Aurengabad in our map; and reſpect to the improvement of geography induces us to ſay, that no traveller, continually ſtruggling with ſo many difficulties, ever kept ſo accurate a regiſter of his way, in all his journies. He not only gives every diſtance that has a name or note, on the road, but

* See Note VII. Article 9.

the

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the nature of the country, with every thing remarkable within his view, on either hand. We ſuſpect a few errors of the preſs in his publication; and therefore wiſh the more that we had maps made under his own inſpection, to follow in the routes we have inſerted in our own from his details; which otherwiſe would leave the compaſs of the geographer nothing to doubt.

NOTE XVIII.

Page 24, line 9. *The* CORLAHS.]—We do not recollect to have found this term in uſe in any other part of India. But RIBEIRO, in his account of Ceylon, ſays, that the ancient principalities of this iſland, before the conqueſt of the Portugueſe, were thus called; and accordingly M. Deliſle, in the map which he compoſed for the tranſlation of Ribeiro by the Abbé le Grand, gives the name of CORLAHS to all the principal diviſions. The word is rightly ſpelt in the ancient records of Bombay, but has by degrees changed into CORRIES, which is the only term in uſe there at preſent to ſignify the diſtricts on the oppoſite main; which we mention merely that the enquirers in our behalf may know what we mean.

NOTE XIX.

Page 24, line 17. *The fortified iſland of* Gingerah.] Mr. Alexander Dalrymple has given a very neat view and plan of *Gingerah*,

Gingerah, with a plan of the harbour and entrance of the river of Dunda Rajapore. It is in his collection of plans of ports in the Eaſt Indies, publiſhed London 1775.

NOTE XX.

Page 25, line 1. *And at the end of* 1669, *appeared ſuddenly at the head of his army before Surat*, &c. &c.]—Carré, in his firſt volume, opens the hiſtory of SEVAGI in theſe terms: "L'an 1669, Surate fut pillée pour la ſeconde fois par l'armée de SEVAGI." Carré afterwards relates many particulars of this ſecond ranſack; but without mention of the ſeaſon, which we have ventured to ſuppoſe the end of the year, from combination, always doubtful, and wiſh for certainty from better authority; which may be obtained at Surat, but not from Engliſh records, for there are none of this date in the factory. Other cotemporary publications agree that Surat was twice ſacked by SEVAGI, and none fix the ſecond pillage before 1669.

It is likewiſe from Carré that we take the death of the governor of Surat; who, he ſays, dropped down dead on kiſſing a letter ſent to him by Aurengzebe, in conſequence of his treachery with SEVAGI; and the French ſurgeons who opened his head, eaſily perceived the trace of the poiſon. A bold aſſertion! The governors of Surat were not at this time powerful enough to ſecure even their meals from the influence of

Aurengzebe,

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Aurengzebe, and this governor might have been poiſoned by his means; which ignorance, and the love of wonder, converted to their own conceits: for amongſt the Mahomedans of India, as well as of Turkey, it is a mark of ſcience to be credulous in alchymies, and to ſpend money in queſt of the philoſopher's ſtone, the elixir of life, and other ſupernatural effects; and where the better ſort believe the poſſibility, the many rarely doubt the fact; as in this inſtance, how a poiſon, of which the effluvia was to produce inſtant death, could be prepared or fixed to a letter, without detriment to the operator.

Nothing has contributed more to bring the authenticity of travels into diſrepute, than this propenſity to relate and believe events which contradict the experience of philoſophy. What traveller, on the Malabar coaſt, has not ſeen the ordeal trial in boiling oil, without harm to the patient? OVINGTON believes a prediction related to him by Mr. Bartholomew Harris, in 1690, and made by a bramin to Mr. Angier, concerning the arrival of a ſhip from England, which was verified at the very hour. Another bramin, according to HAMILTON, foretels the death of the Engliſh chief at Carwar; which happened with equal punctuality. The MISSIONARIES abound in necromancies, and the power of faſcination. The ſhrewd but credulous Navarette has a houſe aſſaulted every night by inviſible fiends, ducks and mice produced from the leaves of trees, &c. &c.

Even

Even the judicious Sir Thomas Roe has one doubtful ſtory. Mr. Anquetil du Perron, none. SECT. I.

NOTE XXI.

Page 25, line 16. *And reinforcements were ordered to join them even from the province of Behar.*]—DE GRAAF, the Dutch ſurgeon, arrived in BENGAL at the end of 1669. In September of the next year, he was ſent from their factory at Coſſimbuzar, to cure the chief of their factory at Patna; and being a good draughtſman, was inſtructed to take plans and views of what he might ſee worthy of remark along the Ganges; on which he proceeded in a boat, accompanied by a young writer. He accordingly went aſhore at Monghir, and walked round the fort, meaſuring by his paces the circumference from the river to the river, and the diſtances between the towers, of which he took notes as he went; but had been obſerved from the walls, and when he came again to his boat, found it under a ſtrong guard, which carried him and his companion to the fort. Monghir at this time had been little frequented by Europeans; for the governor aſked him what nation the Dutch were, and whether they believed in Mahomed; and not knowing what to judge of the travellers, confined them under much hardſhip in the common priſon of criminals: at length, after ſeveral councils held at his Durbar, and farther interrogatories, he told DE GRAAF, "that they were not Dutchmen, for none

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" came there; but two rascally Portuguese, sent by SEVAGI, " who was in rebellion at Surat, to examine the country and " its cities, in order to attack them when the opportunity " should offer." Likewise, " that he should keep them prisoners until he heard from the Mogul at Agra." On which DE GRAAF wrote to the Dutch factories at Hughley and Patna, who procured orders from the Nabob of Behar, for their immediate release; which the governor of Monghir would not obey, until the Nabob threatened to come from Patna, and bring them away himself.

Thus, after seven weeks confinement, they were released on the 26th of November. "Three days after they left Monghir, " they met the troops of a Gentoo prince called AMARTING " (Amarsing) which consisted of twelve hundred horsemen " well equipped, forty camels, six elephants, many oxen, " and a large body of foot. There were besides a great number of boats of various kinds, which carried the baggage " and provisions. These people came from the mountain of " Assang, and were going to Delhi and Agra, in order to join " the army of the Mogul, and afterwards march against " the rebel SEVAGI."

NOTE XXII.

Page 25, line 23. *In conjunction with the fleet commanded by the Siddee.*]—At the end of this year 1669, or in the beginning

ginning of 1670, Father Navarette ſailed from China. This we conclude, becauſe the ſhip arrived at Malacca on the eve of the purification, which eve is the 1ſt of February. He ſays, chap. XVII. "Juſt before my departure from China, ſome news arrived out of Europe: one piece was, that Bandarra had been a notorious Jew, and that his tomb was thrown down, and his prophecies ſuppreſt:" — "that the Engliſh at Bombay overthrew the churches, and cut to pieces the pictures of the altars:" — "that the infidels attacked Goa, took two thouſand chriſtians, and killed a Franciſcan, and the Viceroy did not behave himſelf well." SECT. I.

If this news concerning Bombay and Goa came from Europe, it muſt have gone thither firſt, and muſt be at leaſt eighteen months old when Navarette received it, which would be June 1668. But we muſt ſuppoſe it came from India, and moſt likely from Goa to Macao; but no ſhip could arrive from India at Macao in December or January, nor could any from Goa, which had not ſailed before the end of May; for then the monſoon ſets in on that coaſt. A ſhip ſailing from Goa in all May, might arrive at Macao in all Auguſt, or earlier. If they ſtaid on the coaſt of Malabar until the monſoon grew more temperate, which is in Auguſt, we don't ſee how the ſhip could get to Macao againſt the monſoon of the China ſea, in December: ſtill Navarette received the news in December. We ſuppoſe the news came to the Philippines, and was brought from thence to Macao by ſome China Junk,

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or ſmaller veſſel, although not uſual to make this voyage at that ſeaſon. Now the infidels appear, by what Navarette ſays afterwards, to be Sevagi's army, whether Sevagi himſelf commanded, although we think he did. After all, it is an admiſſible concluſion, that Sevagi was before Goa ſome time in April or May 1669, or at leaſt he muſt have been there in 1668, if the news came from Europe.

NOTE XXIII.

Page 25, line 25. *In* 1670 *he ſent a large detachment to attack the town of Rajapore.*]—Father Navarette was at Golcondah in July 1670, and had thoughts of travelling by land from thence to Goa; but, in his own words,—"Perceiving "how difficult a matter it was to go to Goa, and that the dif- "ficulty increaſed every day, becauſe a rebel whoſe name "was Subagi (Sevagi) ranged thoſe countries with a pow- "erful army, I made to thoſe gentlemen (the French factory); "and, finding a fit opportunity, accepted of the favour they "offered me;"—which was, to give him a paſſage, in a ſhip of theirs, to Surat.

Navarette writing, as it ſhould ſeem, on board a ſhip, in his paſſage to Surat from Maſulipatam, whence he ſailed on the 17th of October 1670, adds, "It is fit to ſay ſomething of the Great Mogul. He that now reigns put his father to death, and uſurped the crown. This man had a ſon,

ſon, who governs a province eight day's journey from Golcondah, towards Bengala" (a miſtake; it is more even to the Nerbeddah: of this ſon and government hereafter), "which properly belongs to the prince, who deſigns to follow the example his father ſet him, and get all into his own hands. Anthony Coello, who had ſerved under him, told me that he had already two hundred thouſand horſe and three hundred thouſand foot: a brave army, if they are but good men. He deſigns to join in league with the rebel Subagi, who is very great and powerful. I mentioned, in another place, how he attacked the territory of Goa, and carried away two or three thouſand chriſtians, and a Franciſcan. He ſent to demand of the Viceroy of Goa to make good a ſhip of his the Portugueſe had taken. The Viceroy was in a paſſion, and beat his embaſſador: an action nobody could approve of. The Engliſh governor of Madraſs told me, that Infidel would make war upon Goa, by ſea and land, and make ſlaves of all the Portugueſe men and women he could light of. Subagi may do it, and the Mogul better, but he will not take ſmall things in hand. The king of Golcondah is more to be feared, becauſe Coromandel and all theſe coaſts are ſubject to him." This being a conſiderable point, an account of it was ſent ſeveral ways to Goa and Madraſs. So here we ſee Sevagi dreaded at Goa in 1670, and a treaty between him and the Mogul's ſon threatened. Who was this ſon?

Navarette ſailed from Goa on the 16th of November 1670, and in the paſſage up the coaſt lay ſome days in ſight of Dabul,

SECT. II. Dabul, which, he ſays, is a ſtrong and handſome fort belonging to Subagi.

Continuing the voyage, ſays Navarette, "we went on to Bombay, Bacain, and on the 8th of January (1671) by break of day, were before Daman. On the 11th we paſſengers went up to Suali, in a Dutch boat that came to us." Chap. xxv. begins thus: "I came to Suali, much tired, and had a mind to wait for a religious man, who deſigned to travel by land; but the next day I had a letter from him, giving me an account he had not been able to come by land, by reaſon of Subagi's army, which lay in the way, he having already drawn near to Golcondah, and deſtroyed many towns and villages about that court." This determined Navarette to go to Europe in a French ſhip, for which he obtained leave of Carron, the French director, who, he ſays, was a rank heretic, but that he treated him with great reſpect and attention.

Navarette left Golcondah on the 28th of July, and Maſulipatam on the 17th of October (1670). It is therefore probable, although not certain, that Sevagi's irruption towards Golcondah was about or after the middle of October; for if it had been before, Navarette would have heard of it before he ſailed from Maſulipatam, and if it had been later, Sevagi would not have appeared, as we ſay, in the beginning of 1671, before Surat.

Navarette continued at Surat until the 21ſt of January 1670, when he embarked on the French ſhip for Europe; ſo that his ſtay there was not more than eleven days. He ſays, "Whilſt

" Whilſt I was there, the Portugueſe little fleet arrived, which runs along that coaſt every year. Near Bacain they met another ſmall fleet, belonging to Subagi, conſiſting of fifteen ſmall ſhips. They drove it up to the ſhore, and took every one of them without the expence of a grain of powder."—This is the firſt poſitive mention we meet of Sevagi's having a fleet of his own at ſea. But it could be only his.

NOTE XXIV.

Page 26, line 10. *In the beginning of* 1671, *he appeared again before Surat, &c.*]—We take this from De Graaf, when arrived at Patna; who ſays, after the 31ſt of January 1671, " The letters which were received *at or about this time* from " Surat, by the way of Agra, gave information of the pil- " lages exerciſed by the prince SEVAGI, the contributions " he exacted, and the ravages he committed at Surat and the " adjacencies. He demanded a large ſum from the Dutch " factory, but it was refuſed."

NOTE XXV.

Page 32, line 11. *Rickloffe Van Goen.*]—He reduced Manar and Jaffnapatan in 1658, which completed the extermination of the Portugueſe out of Ceylon; and in 1661, 1662, he took from them Coylan, Crangainore, and Cochin. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Rickloffe in the government of

SECT. I. of Ceylon, in 1675; and in 1678 became governor-general of Batavia.

NOTE XXVI.

Page 32, line 25. *Five French ſhips had come into the harbour.*]—* Dellon, the phyſician, was in one of theſe ſhips; but we write from the Bombay records of the year.

NOTE XXVII.

Page 34, line 19. *At Hubely.*]—This place, notwithſtanding its importance, is not mentioned in any map that we have ſeen, nor in our manuſcript of the Decan; but Mr. FRYER ſays, that Viziapore is ten days journey from Carwar, and HUBELY ſix. We have placed it accordingly in our map.

NOTE XXVIII.

Page 35, line 16. *The Engliſh company, as before, at the taking of Rajapore, had loſt effects to a conſiderable value in the ſack of Hubely.*]—The Engliſh factory at Carwar generally kept a broker at HUBELY to ſell their imports, and collect the cloth intended for England, which was all provided on the other ſide of the gauts: for, according to Mr. Fryer, "CARWAR has no peculiar commodities or manufactories of "its own product." He was there in 1676; and ſays, "the

* See Note VII, article V. page 174, of theſe Notes.

"factory

" factory was then decaying, by reaſon of the embroils of " the country, merchants being out of heart to buy or ſell." Nevertheleſs, the inveſtment ordered for 1683 was conſiderable, and conſiſted of the following articles: SECT. I.

200 tons of *pepper*.

51,000 pieces of *dungarees*, full yard-wide, and eighteen yards long (above 1,000 bales).

8,000 pieces of *pautkaes*.

10,600 pieces of *percollaes*, of 15 yards long the pancura, and yard broad.

50 bales of cardamums.

2,000 pieces of *baſtaes*, broad.

2,000 pieces of *ſevaguzzies*.

50 candies, each 500 lb. of *caſſia lignum*.

Dungaree is the lighter ſail cloth of India; and this quantity might have been ordered in conſequence of ſome expectation of a war with the ſtates of Holland; but only 8,000 pieces were procured. The intention, nevertheleſs, proves that Viziapore was at this time in repute for the abundance of its manufactures, which at preſent ſcarcely ſupply more than the conſumption of its diminiſhed inhabitants.

NOTE XXIX.

Page 41, line 1. *As king of the Marattoe nation*, &c. &c.]—FERISHTA pretends, that the fabulous hiſtories of the Hindoos deſcribe the diviſions and ſubdiviſions of their own country, by perſonifying them into a genealogy from HIND, India, who was the eldeſt ſon of Ham, the ſon of Noah.

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HIND had four ſons; POURIB, the north (diviſion); BANG, Bengal; DECAN, the ſouth, or the country ſouth of the Nerbeddah; NARWAAL, Guzerat. Decan had three ſons, MARHAT, all the countries inhabited by the *Marattoes*; CONHER, all in which the language of the Canarins is ſpoken; TELING, all in which the Telinga, or what Europeans call the Gentoo language. We have no notion that the Hindoos admit any ſuch genealogy. Their chronology reckons by myriads.

The ſame FERISHTA, in his hiſtory of the Decan, which is not tranſlated, * ſays, that the Morattoes claim an antiquity of 5,000 years as a nation and a ſovereignty, which is many centuries before the deluge.

However both aſſertions prove, that the Mahomedans eſteem the Morattoes to be as ancient as any other of the Hindoo races.

It is a very admiſſible conjecture, to ſuppoſe that their ancient country extended whereſoever their language prevails at preſent. It is from Mr. ANQUETIL DU PERRON we learn that it is ſpoken weſtward of the *gauts*, from the iſland of Bardez near Goa, to the river Tapti, on which Surat is ſituated. Our MANUSCRIPT account of the Decan ſays, they were anciently in poſſeſſion of the country which is at preſent comprized under the *Circar*, or immediate government, of

* Since the firſt edition of this work in the year 1782, Feriſhta's Hiſtory of the Dekkan has been tranſlated into Engliſh, by captain Jonathan Scott, of the Eaſt India Company's ſervice, and Perſian ſecretary to Warren Haſtings, eſq. illuſtrated with many curious and valuable notes; in 2 vols. 4to. 1794.

Aurengabad. Allowing the ſame extent from north to ſouth as far as this meridian to the eaſtward of the gauts, as from Bardez to the Tapti on the weſtward, their inland country exceeded that on the ſea-coaſt by one hundred and fifty miles in breadth, and the whole on both ſides of the mountains may be eſteemed three hundred and forty miles from north to ſouth, and two hundred from weſt to eaſt, in the fineſt climate of India.

Their language, as all others of any purity in India, is a derivation of the *Sanſcrit*, partakes of its difficulties, and is eſteemed by themſelves nearer the original than either the Canarin or Malabar. Their creed and religious rites are peculiar to themſelves; but the Canarins uſe the ſame character, and regulate their chronology by the ſame cycle. This from Mr. Anquetil du Perron.

That part of their country which forms at preſent the government of Aurengabad, was the firſt that felt the fury of the Mahomedans, when ravaged in the year 1311, by Caffoor, the general of Sultan Alaeddin, or Secunder Sani, emperor of Delhi; under which ſovereignty it continued forty years: but we cannot aſcertain the ſubſequent ſubjections of the nation to the Mahomedan kings of Candiſh and Viziapore, and to the preſent dynaſty of Moguls. At the time of SEVAGI's revolt, the king of Viziapore poſſeſſed all the Morattoe country on the coaſt, from the diſtricts of Bonſolo to Gallian, and the mountains and caſtern country farther north; but the Portugueſe had their fortreſs of Chaul on the main, with the

SECT. I. iſlands of Bombay and Salcette. The Moguls levied a ſlight tribute in ſome of the more northern hills, and poſſeſſed all the better country between Surat and Aurengabad. The nation, thus ſubjected, adhered, in many diviſions, to different chiefs, comforted by prophecies of recovering their ancient dominion, but without confederacy, until SEVAGI, a ſtranger, encouraged by his firſt ſucceſſes, formed the idea of collecting all the diviſions into one ſtate.

NOTE XXX.

Page 41, line 22. *They* (the Dutch fleet) *met, near Metchlepatam, a fleet of ten Eaſt Indiamen.**]—Mr. Fryer, the phyſician, ſailed in the Unity, one of the ſhips of this fleet, of which all but one arrived together on the coaſt of Coromandel, and falling to the northward of Madraſs, went to Metchlepatam, from whence, after a month's ſtay, they came to Madraſs, either at the end of July or the beginning of Auguſt 1673, where they found the miſſing ſhip. Having ſtaid nine days at Madraſs, all the ten ſailed again to Maſulipatam, and were diſpatched from thence to the factory at Pettipolly, where they fell in with the Dutch fleet of twenty-two ſail, which they might have avoided, but choſe to fight, although not all with equal reſolution. The Bombay, captain Erwin, received eighty ſhot in her hull, and ſome of them

* See a Dutch account of this action in Havart, page 163 et ſeq.

between

between wind and water, which filled her with ſo much, that ſhe quitted, after an hour's engagement. The Admiral's ſhip, the London, captain Baſs, having loſt thirty-ſix men, likewiſe bore away, but after a longer fight, to ſtop her leaks; and joining the Bombay, was followed by the Maſſinberg, captain Weſtlock, the Unity, captain Craft, the Ann, captain Brown, the Eaſt India Merchant, captain Cooley, and the Cæſar, captain Andrews; leaving their three comrades ſurrounded by the whole of the enemy's fleet of twenty-two ſhips, againſt which they nevertheleſs maintained the fight until utterly diſabled. The Preſident, captain Hide, vice admiral, was boarded ſeveral times; and in the Sampſon, captain Erning, the rear admiral was killed; before either ſtruck: captain Goldſberry ſtranded his ſhip Antelope, rather than let her belong to the Dutch; and had the good fortune to eſcape aſhore with what remained of his crew. The ſeven ſhips who had borne away, came to Madraſs on the 1ſt of September. We take this account principally from Fryer, who was not in the engagement, having been detained at Madraſs when the ſhips returned to Metchlepatam. SECT. I.

NOTE XXXI.

Page 43, line 6. *Mr. Henry Oxenden was deputed, and Sevagi received his viſit with civility.*]—FRYER has given Mr. Oxenden's *Narrative* of this embaſſy to Sevagi, and the journey

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ney to Rairee. Mr. Oxenden has not been curious in the geography of his journey; he only mentions the reſting-places, which are only four, and, excepting Eſthemy, the firſt ſtage, leaves us to gueſs the hours, and rate of his travelling, in order to determine the diſtances of the ſtages. Eſthemy, he ſays, is ſix leagues up the river of Chaul, but does not mention the courſe of the river; but from combination with an improbable poſition, which muſt otherwiſe be given to Rairee, we have ventured to ſuppoſe that it flows from the ſouth-weſt, and, according to this conjecture, have marked the ſtages of Mr. Oxenden's journey, and the ſituation of RAIREE in our map. Mr. Fryer has given this track ſeparately, on the ſame plate as his map of the peninſula, but ſets Eſthemy E. N. E. of Chaul.

NOTE XXXII.

Page 43, line 11. *He was publicly weighed againſt gold, and the ſum amounting to* 16,000 *pagodas.*]—which is equal to 112 pounds avoirdupoize, and agrees with ſuch a make as his picture deſcribes.

NOTE XXXIII.

Page 43, line 18. *Admitting eighteen of twenty articles propoſed.*]—We have the twenty articles from the Bombay records,

records of the time, as ſettled there with Sevagi's agent, and delivered to Mr. Oxenden, to procure Sevagi's ratification of them at Rairee. SECT. I.

NOTE XXXIV.

Page 44, line 25. *In the ruined town of Gallian.*]—This town, at the time of SEVAGI's revolt, belonged to the kingdom of Viziapore. It was taken by the Portugueſe in 1535, who do not ſeem to have maintained it with a conſtant garriſon. Mr. Fryer was there in April 1675; and we ſhall give his deſcription, as it marks the ancient magnificence of a city, which no one elſe mentions as of conſiderable note. He ſays, "Early therefore the next morning (April the 26th) "I left the moſt glorious ruins the Mahomedans in Decan "ever had cauſe to deplore: for this city, once the chief "empory, excelled not only in trade, but the general conſe- "quent, ſumptuouſneſs, if the reliques of the ſtately fabrics "may add credit to ſuch a belief; which reliques, notwith- "ſtanding the fury of the Portugals, afterwards of the Mo- "gul, ſince of SEVAGI, and now lately again of the Mogul "(whoſe flames were hardly extinguiſhed at my being here, "and the governor and people on that ſcore being prepared "more for flight than defence at preſent) are ſtill the extant "marks of its priſtine height. The remaining buildings hav- "ing many ſtories of ſquare facing ſtones, and the moſques,

"which

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" which are numerous, of the fame, abating little of their " ancient luſtre, being all watered with delicate tanks, about " which are coſtly tombs, with their diſtinct chapels or " moſques, where formerly the *mullahs* (or prieſts) had fat " penſions to pray for their departed ſouls, which is main- " tained by them as efficacious: wherefore they covet fune- " rals in the moſt conſpicuous places, which the pleaſant " ſummer-houſes hanging over here, cauſe theſe places to be. " The unemployed people of the town daily waſting their " time in theſe inviting varieties, which is the only thing " pleads for their continuance, SEVAGI, as a Gentu, being " otherwiſe inclined to raze them; yet purpoſely to pervert " them from the uſe of the donors, and intention of the found- " ers, orders them to be converted into granaries, eſpecially " thoſe within the city. The houſes the preſent inhabitants " kennel in, are mean; the people beggarly, by reaſon of " theſe hoſtile incurſions."

Mr. Fryer was received with civility by Sevagi's officers in the town, and they appointed a great moſque for his lodging.

It is probable that Gallian exiſted early in the 14th century, as the immediate metropolis of Salcette, Bombay, Baſſein, and all the adjacent country, although under a higher power. Friar Oderic of Priuli, who had returned from his travels to India, and wrote his account of them in the year 1330, ſays, that he arrived in twenty-eight days from Ormus,

Ormus, at a city called Thana (on the iſland of Salcette) and deſcribes particularly the martyrdom of four friars, which had happened there ſome time before his arrival; whoſe piety had led them to diſpute before the Cadi, or eccleſiaſtical judge of the town, and to tell him that his prophet Mahomed was in hell with his father the devil: on which the governor, whom Oderic entitles Meleck, executed them under exceſſive tortures: but the king of the country, DODSI, called up the Meleck, and, having examined the caſe, put him and all his family to death for his deſpotiſm and cruelty; on which the Cadi of Tannah fled the country. Friar Oderic collected and carried away with him the bones of the martyrs, to which he imputes ſeveral miracles. SECT. I.

It is evident from this account, that Tannah was under a Mahomedan government, and moſt probably GALLIAN likewiſe: but king DODSI muſt have been a Gentoo, who entruſted the command of them to Mahomedans, in order to encourage the reſort of their trade from Perſia and Arabia.

We are aware, from Mr. D'Anville, that Tannah only is mentioned in the tables of Naſſereddin, and Uleg Beg, who flouriſhed in 1261 and 1437, and by Abulfeda, who was cotemporary with Friar Oderic. But as no veſtiges of magnificence have been diſcovered at Tannah, and as no veſſels of burthen can paſs beyond it towards Gallian, Tannah might be the port of depoſite; to which merchants occaſionally repaired

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paired to tranſact buſineſs with the ſhips, who nevertheleſs might conſecrate the enjoyment of their fortunes to the more ſplendid reſidence of Gallian. And Mr. D'Anville himſelf ſupports us in the notion, even of an earlier antiquity, by ſuppoſing, that the famous Calliana of the Periplus Maris Erythræi, and of Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, is the iſland of Caranjah, in the harbour of Bombay; for we have no doubt that he would have appropriated Calliana to Gallian, if he had ever ſeen a map in which this place had been laid down. The Periplus is imputed to the ſecond century—Coſmas travelled in the ſixth.

NOTE XXXV.

Page 45, line 17. *The armada which uſed to cruiſe every year from Goa, to aſſert the ſovereignty of the Indian ſeas, had the year before croſſed over to the gulph of Perſia.*]—Chardin ſays, that he received news of this expedition of the Arabs to Baſſein, on the 4th of April 1674, he being then at Gombroon. The latter part of Chardin's account differs from ours; that the Arabs were routed by an ambuſcade of ſixty Portugueſe near Daman, as far as which they had marched, and there abandoned all their booty in a precipitate flight back to their veſſels, from which it ſhould ſeem they were twenty leagues diſtant when defeated. We wrote from the Bombay

Bombay records, which do not mention this defeat, and Chardin writes from letters which might be not authentic, and from report (on rapporte) which might be leſs ſo.

In June 1674 a ſhip returning from Gombroon was abandoned in a ſtorm in the gulph of Cambay, and the government of Surat demanded all that was ſaved with the people in the long-boat, in virtue of the Mogul's title to wrecks.

Chardin writes under the 15th of February 1675; he then at Iſpahan.

NOTE XXXVI.

Page 49, line 23. *In the iſland of Sooloo—where his tomb is ſhown at this day.*]—Mr. Dalrymple has ſeen the tomb.

NOTE XXXVII.

Page 49, line 26. *That he continued alive in Indoſtan.*]—SEVAGI, when he plundered Surat in 1664, gave out, in mockery of Aurengzebe, that he had Sultan Sujah in his camp, who, as rightful emperor, had given him the town.

NOTE XXXVIII.

Page 51, line 20. *For a ceſſation of hoſtilities until Pondah ſhould be reduced.*]—Chardin gives an account of the diſpute between the Portugueſe armada in the gulph of Perſia, with the government of Perſia, concerning the revenues of Congue,

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and thence takes occaſion to ſpeak of the general declenſion of their power and affairs in the Eaſt Indies. This ſeems to be written at Iſpahan, under June the 28th 1675—the period we are now treating in the Fragments. He ſays, "the Portugueſe, in loſing the maritime countries of the Indies, have loſt the former reſpect which uſed to be paid to them, inſomuch that thoſe who were under the greateſt degree of ſubjection to their domination, are thoſe who afterwards inſulted them the moſt, and who *at this preſent* preſs upon them the hardeſt. I mean to ſpeak of the people of Malabar, in which the city of Goa is ſituated. Sevagi, that famous conqueror, who is the moſt powerful prince of this country (Malabar) ravages, when he pleaſes, to the very gates of the city, and probably will drive them out of it one time or other."

As Pondah was taken in the end of April, the news could ſcarcely have arrived at Iſpahan by the 23d of June 1675; but the march of Sevagi's troops to inveſt, which was in February or March, might.

NOTE XXXIX.

Page 54, line 2. *A fort called Sibon, belonging to the Portugueſe, in the neighbourhood of Baſſein.*]—Mr. Anquetil du Perron, towards the end of 1760, travelled from Surat to Baſſein, in order to examine the famous excavations in the iſland of Salcette, which he has deſcribed, as well as his journey,

ney, with his uſual diligence. He returned to Surat nearly by the road he came; but the fort of Sibon did not fall in his way, either coming or going. We have inſerted his route into our map. One of the Portugueſe country, from Daman to Baſſein, is much wanted; for we find ſeveral places of ſome conſequence in this territory, mentioned in the records of Bombay, whoſe ſituations have not yet come to our knowledge. SECT. I.

NOTE XL.

Page 60, line 21. *They* (SEVAGI's *army) laid ſiege at the ſame time to two ſtrong forts, one called Billigong, near Bancapore, the other at five days journey from this, and called Rayim.*] —Neither of theſe places is mentioned in our manuſcript of the Decan, either under the *ſubah* of VIZIAPORE or of BEDER; conſequently neither have the rule over a *purgunnah* or diſtrict, in either of theſe ſubahs: but ſtrong forts are often ſeparated as feifs or jaghires, from the ordinary municipal government; and we have no doubt of the exiſtence of theſe, becauſe we find them mentioned in a letter dated the 6th of October of this year 1676, from the government of Bombay to the preſidency at Surat.

" This day arrived Narranſinay; (he had been ſent on buſineſs to Rairee). Sevagee is not gone down the coaſt, " but ſtruck up the hill, and has beſieged two caſtles in

" Balgot

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" Balgot (Balagat) one called BILLIGONG, near Bancapore, " the other called RAVIM (or Vayim, for it is doubtful in the " manuſcript) about five days journey on this ſide of it. He " has made great havock in the Viziapore country, and does " intend to continue it, which we believe will much prejudice " the company's inveſtments at Rajapore and Carwar. We " hear not of any army intended towards Surat, or that way, " and ſuppoſe none will be ſent, becauſe himſelf is gone ſo " far up the hill."

NOTE XLI.

Page 61, line 3. *Bahadar Khan—liſtened to propoſals from Sevagi, who offered, it is ſaid, 400,000 pagodas with his homage of fealty to the Mogul, on condition that permiſſion were obtained for his paſſage through the territory of Golconda, to attack that part of the Carnatic which was ſubject to Viziapore.*]—Neither SEVAGI's intention of attacking the Carnatic, nor his ſtipulation for the paſſage of his army through the territory of Golconda, were publicly known when he concluded the terms of peace with Bahadar Khan. At that time an agent, named Narransinay, was ſent from Bombay to Morah Pundit, at Chaul, in order to ſettle the payment of what remained due from SEVAGI on Mr. Oxenden's agreement, and other detriments. This Narransinay writes from Chaul, in the beginning of December (1676) that "Sevagi is to pay the Mogul 400,000 " pagodas

" pagodas yearly, to aſſiſt him with five thouſand horſe, and that " ſaw Morah Pundit ſend to Rairee for four lacks (400,000) " of pagodas, to ſend away immediately for the firſt year's pay- " ment; and that the five thouſand horſe were gone under the " command of Narangi Pundit." Such an agreement, conſented to by ſuch a dealer as Sevagi, would have been equivalent to an open avowal of his intentions not to abide by it; he neither parted with his money nor his troops ſo eaſily on any terms, much leſs on expectation. We have no doubt that Morah Pundit ſent ſome money to Bahadar Khan, and intended to ſend more, as circumſtances might require: on the other hand, it was natural that Morah Pundit ſhould wiſh the Engliſh at Bombay might believe that Sevagi's country, during his abſence, was under the immediate protection of the Mogul; ſince from this reſpect they would be leſs cautious of refuſing their harbour to the Siddee, who only claimed it on the ſame pretenſion. Accordingly Bombay writes to Surat on the 20th of December, that " the peace is broken, " becauſe Sevagi would not deliver his ſon Sambagi as a " hoſtage." But again, Bombay writes to England, on the 19th of March 1677, " We have ſome credible reports that " there is peace concluded between Sevagi and the Mogul, " but dare not abſolutely affirm it, though ſome of our ſer- " vants that are now come from up the hill ſay that there is " free egreſs and regreſs out of Sevagi's into the Mogul's " dominions: if ſo, we have hopes to open a trade directly

" up

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" up the country, which in time may much advance the cuſ-
" toms, and increaſe the trade and ſplendor, of the iſland."
There was peace, and no mention of hoſtilities in the Bombay record during the reſt of the year.

MANOUCHI, ſo far from ſuppoſing that Sevagi paid any thing for the truce, ſays that Aurengzebe, from his greater apprehenſions in the war of the Pitans, ordered his ſon Sultan Mauzum " to make peace with Sevagi, without re-
" gard to the dignity of the empire, and to the chaſtiſement
" of an adventurer who had crowned himſelf with his
" own hands."

NOTE XLII.

Page 61, line 14. *But the king* (of Chandergherri, at the cloſe of the 16th century) *is ſtiled king of Biſnagar, for what reaſon we do not find, unleſs from the ancient title of a loſt poſſeſſion; for the city of Biſnagar is ſituated on the other ſide of the Carnatic mountains, two hundred miles to the N. W. of Chandergherri, and was at this time part of the dominion of the Mahomedan king of Viziapore.*]—Cæſar Frederic, the Venetian, ſet out in 1563, and continued in the Eaſt Indies until 1581. In 1567 he went from Goa to Biſnagar: the account he gives of the ſtate of this kingdom is very obſcure, nevertheleſs we ſhall endeavour to gueſs his meaning. The hereditary king of Biſnagar, a Gentoo, had for many years been kept in confine-

ment

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ment by his miniſters, Ramragio*, who repreſented on the throne, and was called king; Timiragio†, who held the ſeals, and managed the revenues; Bengatre‡, who commanded the army, in which were two Mooriſh captains of note and influence. The three miniſters became impatient of the life of the king, and the ſon of Timiragio put him to death in his confinement, which raiſed diſcontent, of which the two Mooriſh captains took advantage, and invited an invaſion, which was accordingly made by the four neighbouring Mahomedan kings, who were *Dialcan* (Idal Caun) king of Viziapore; *Zamuluc* (Nizamalmuluck, king of Berar) who reſided at Ahmednagur; *Cotamuluck* (Cuttub Shaw) king of Golcondah; *Vindy* (king of I don't know what, unleſs it be Candiſh). Ramragio and Bengatre fell in the battle againſt the four kings, and Timiragio fled with the loſs of an eye: but the wives and children of all the three were ſent away in ſafety. The four kings entered BISNAGAR, and remained in it four months, ſearching and digging for treaſure; and then, ſays Frederic, "departed to their own kingdoms, becauſe they "were not able to maintain ſuch a kingdom as that was, ſo "far diſtant from their own country."

After the departure of the four kings, Timiragio returned to Biſnagar, and invited the merchants at Goa to bring horſes,

* Ram Rajah. † Temi Rajah. ‡ Venkitrou.

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whom he afterwards cheated. Frederic went in company with two of theſe horſe merchants, to buy diamonds, which were brought from the mine of Raolkondah, and ſtaid ſeven months at Biſnagar, until the ways were cleared of thieves, but might otherwiſe have done his buſineſs in one.

He then ſays, that the king and his court, by reaſon of the ſacking of the four kings, went to dwell in *Penigondah*, a caſtle eight days up in the land from Biſnagar; that this city was twenty-four miles in circumference, and had fallen to ſuch decay, in conſequence of the war and capture, that many parts of it were infeſted by tygers; but that the palaces of the three tyrants, and the pagodas, were remaining unimpaired: that he had ſeen many, but never ſaw ſuch a palace as that of Biſnagar; by which we ſuppoſe he means the ancient palace of the ancient kings. By the king and his court, who went to dwell at *Penigondah*, we conclude he muſt mean Timiragio. There is a *Penukonda* marked by Mr. D'ANVILLE, as a fort on a rock, ſituated on the bank of the Penar, about midway in its courſe to the north, before it turns to the eaſt: twenty miles weſt of this fort is a *Pakonda*, which is only marked as a common town; but from a later map of the Decan, of which we may hereafter trace the documents, we have inſerted into our own a conſiderable fort on a rock, called *Palikondah*, which ſtands north of the other two, and twenty miles weſt of the elbow of the Paliar, not far from Shirpi.

Shirpi. We cannot determine whether either, or which, is the Penigondah of Frederic, but all the three ſtand equally convenient for the transfer of a fugitive government to CHANDERGHERRI, from which they are diſtant one hundred and twenty, one hundred and thirty, and one hundred and forty miles. It ſtill remains to know, whether the king of Chandergherri, to whom the Jeſuits went in 1599, was a deſcendant of Timiragio, or of the rightful king of Biſnagar, murdered by Timiragio's ſon; but we believe of Timiragio. We wiſh all this were enquired for in India, which may perhaps be found at once with the Bramins at Tripetti. SECT. I.

Frederic, after his return from Biſnagar to Goa, ſaw, in different voyages, all the ports from hence to Cape Comorin, and on the coaſt of Coromandel from Comorin to San Thomé. It appears from his evidence, that the kingdom of Biſnagar extended from ſea to ſea: on the weſtern coaſt from the river of Carwar to Mangalore, one hundred and twenty miles; on the eaſtern, from Negapatam to San Thomé, and probably farther north to Nelore, which would be two hundred and forty; the breadth acroſs the peninſula is nearly three hundred miles. The whole of the preſent kingdom of Tanjore was under the dominion of Biſnagar, and governed by a Naigue or deputy, who treated the Portugueſe at Negapatam with imperiouſneſs; and at San Thomé they ſubmitted to whatſoever exactions were impoſed. The ſea-coaſt of the Maravars and Tinivelly was under other juriſdiction.

NOTE XLIII.

Page 61, line 20. *Two Portugueſe Jeſuits went from St. Thomé to Chandergherri in the year* 1599, *and were received with attentions by the Gentoo king, whoſe ſovereignty they deſcribe as extending over the countries of Tanjore and Madura; and other Jeſuits who travelled at the ſame time into theſe countries, confirm the aſſertion.*]—Our authorities may be found from page 726 to page 808 of the book entitled, "De rebus Japonicis, In- "dicis, & Peruvianis, Epiſtolæ recentiores, a Joanne Hayo, "Scoto, Societatis Jeſu, in Librum unum coacervatæ. Ant- "verpiæ, M,DC,V. Octavo." Theſe jeſuits, one or other, were at *Negapatam*, *Tranquebar*, *Tanjore*, *Chillambarum*, *Gingee*, *Thevenapatam*, *Conimeer*, *Trivadi*, *Salawauk*, *Sadraſs*, *Chinglapett*, *Conjeveram*, *Tripetti*, *Pulliacat*, *Armegon*, *Cotapatam*, *Trivalore*; likewiſe at *Madura*, but none make mention of *Tritchinopoly*; nor they who went to *Chandergherri*, of Arcot: their relations are very curious.

The Theſaurus of Jarric, printed at Cologne in 1615, not only gives all that is publiſhed by Haye, concerning this miſſion of Chandergherri, but a farther account of it from ſubſequent letters, which confirm the ſovereignty of Chandergherri over the Naiques of GINGEE and TANJORE, but deſcribe them as too powerful not to be often refractory: and in 1609 the governor of VELORE, at their inſtigation, refuſed his tribute,

bute, and ſtood a ſevere ſiege, but was at length reduced by the king; who, amongſt his other titles, which are very extravagant, ſtiles himſelf Mahometanorum exercituum debellator; which, with other paſſages, prove him to have been a GENTOO. SECT. I.

NOTE XLIV.

Page 62, line 1. *About the year* 1645, *a deſcendant of this Gentoo king of Chandergherri, permitted the Engliſh to purchaſe the ground of Chinapatam, on which they raiſed Fort St. George, and the town of Madraſs.*]—Madraſs, from its firſt eſtabliſhment, became important to the company's commerce on the coaſt of Coromandel, which had before centered at Maſulipatam: but ſince the year 1744, it has been the metropolis of the national war in India, although Bengal has lately attempted to have its ſhare in this fame; of which both are at this time partaking largely. The origin of famous men and places is always an object of curioſity; and we have lately, by the help of a record, come nearer to the foundation of Madraſs than ever we could get before. In 1661 the preſidency at Surat blamed the agency of Madraſs for perſiſting in giving protection to two or three capuchin friars, who were Frenchmen; although one of them had ſuffered an impriſonment of five years in the inquiſition at Goa, for accommodating his miniſtry to the convenience of the ſettlement. The agency pleaded the reaſons which originally induced the permiſſion

of

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of their reſidence; to which the friars were invited in order to draw the Portugueſe from San Thomé, who being conſidered as Europeans, would add to the military reputation of Madraſs, conſequently attract the reſort of the natives, and with them an increaſe of trade; all which would go back to San Thomé, or be diſperſed, if the capuchins were expelled. In the courſe of this argument, the agency ſay, "At the com- "pany's *firſt* beginning to build a fort, there were only the "French padres, and about ſix fiſhermen's houſes; ſo to "entice the inhabitants to people the place, proclamation "was made in the company's name, that for the term of "*thirty years*, no cuſtom of any thing to be eaten, drank, or "worn, ſhould be taken of any of the town-dwellers. Now "twenty-one years of that time being expired," and the town become flouriſhing both in inhabitants, trade, and commercial cuſtoms, all will be to begin anew if the capuchins are expelled. If twenty-one years of a term of thirty were expired in the year 1661, it follows that Madraſs was founded in the year 1640.

NOTE XLV.

Page 62, line 8. *The forces of Viziapore reduced Velore, which probably was their firſt conqueſt.*]

Page 62, line 17. *It is ſaid the kingdom of Tanjore was likewiſe reduced by Viziapore, but we have met with no documents to confirm this poſition.*]

Mr. Thevenot ſays, p. 273, that "the king of Viziapore, "after having taken what was in his neighbourhood, puſhed "his conqueſt to the cape of Negapatam." Again, p. 274, deſcribing the extent of the kingdom of Viziapore, he ſays, "that it is bounded on the ſouth by the country of the "Naique of Madura, whoſe ſtate extends to Cape Comorin. "This Naique is tributary to the king of Viziapore, as well as "THE NAIQUE OF TANJORE, to whom belonged the cities "of Negapatam, Tranquebar, and ſome others on the coaſt "of Coromandel, when taken by the king of Viziapore." Theſe are poſitive aſſertions of the conqueſt of Tanjore, but we find nothing to confirm them in ſuch letters as we have ſeen, written to and from Madraſs in 1661, 1668, 9, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, although they clearly point out Gingee as ſubject to Viziapore. Notwithſtanding our reſpect to Mr. Thevenot's authority, we muſt remark his miſtake in ſuppoſing the king of Biſnagar or Chandergherri, conquered by Viziapore and Golcondah, in 1652, 1656, was a Mahomedan, with the ancient title of Adil Shah, king of Narſingah; whereas the Madraſs records prove him undoubtedly a Gentoo. Mr. Thevenot ſays, VELORE was the capital of this king, which may be true.

NOTE XLVI.

Page 62, line 19. *The army of Golcondah, led by the famous Emir Jumlah, reduced all the hilly country which ſtretcheth north*

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north of Velore from Gandicotah towards the ſea, &c.]—TAVERNIER went from Madraſs in 1652, to ſell pearls to Emir Jumlah, beſieging Gandicotah, and arrived there on the 1ſt of September, ſix days after the place had ſurrendered. He aſcribes the ſucceſs to four pieces of cannon planted on a neighbouring hill, and managed by European gunners, againſt two, which were all the garriſon had to oppoſe: but Thevenot ſays, that Jumlah invited the governor to a conference, on aſſurance of free return to his fortreſs, and kept him priſoner, until he gave orders for the ſurrender.

NOTE XLVII.

Page 63, line 5. *They* (Aurengzebe and Emir Jumlah) *beſieged the king of Golcondah in his capital; who, to preſerve his diadem, ſubmitted his government to the controul of the Mogul, which had continued until this time, and enabled Bahadar Khan to procure the humiliating permiſſion which Sevagi requeſted.*]—Mr. Bernier ſays, that Aurengzebe, on making the peace, "fit conſentir le roy (de Golconde) que toute la "monnoye d'argent qui ſe fairoit deſormais porteroit d'un "coté la marque de Cha Jehan." We have read ſomewhere elſe, that the king obliged himſelf to give the Mogul's embaſſador at his court, information of all the material reſolutions of his government. Manouchi, ſpeaking of the permiſſion which SEVAGI requeſted, ſays, that "l'autorité d'Au-

"rengzebe

" rengzebe fit conſentir aiſement le roi de Golconde aux " demandes du CEVAGI." SECT. I.

NOTE XLVIII.

Page 63, line 10. *The want of cotemporary record has diſabled us from acquiring any regular account of Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic.*]—This expedition, the moſt important of SEVAGI's life, had important conſequences, which will appear hereafter, as well as we have been able to collect them. It is therefore more eſpecially our wiſh, that enquiries may be made in India concerning the whole of this portion of the hiſtory of Coromandel, which operates even at this day in the events of that country. We have reaſon to believe, that no cotemporary records of the company will be found either at Madraſs, Bombay, or Surat, which we have not diſcuſſed in England; but the informations they afford on this ſubject are very ſcanty.

Bombay writes to Surat, June 27th, 1677. " * Mr. Child " (from Carwar, where he was chief of the factory,) writes, " that SEVAGI is in a caſtle of the king of Golcondah, where " he intends to winter; and after the rains, it is thought, " intends againſt the Carnatic. Several of the Decan Om- " rahs are joined with him, and its believed that Bullul " Cawn and he have agreed to ſhare all between them. The

* He was afterwards Sir John Child, governor of Bombay.

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" Decan country is ſo miſerably haraſſed, that Mr. Child " does not expect to provide * a piece of goods this year, " and we believe Carwar to be in little better ſtate. Morah " Pundit has lately been to viſit the northern garriſon of " Salere, and is now paſt by and gone to Rairee, where we " ſhall be ſure to find him."

July 11, 1677. Again, " Sevagi at preſent is a great way " off in the Carnatic country, *where he wintered.* In his " abſence, Morah Pundit and Anagi Pundit, and another " Bramin, are left to govern affairs, to whom we have " ſent to procure their cowl (paſs) to all generals of armies " that ſhall come towards Surat, that they moleſt not the " Engliſh in any part where they come, nor plunder any " of their goods."

Auguſt 24th, 1677. " SEVAGIis at preſent in the Upper " Carnatic, where he has taken the ſtrong caſtle of Chingy " (Gingee) Chingavore†, Pilcundah‡, and ſeveral others, and " ſhamefully routed the Moors§, and 'tis believed has robbed " Seringapatam‖, and carried away great riches from thence; " and they ſay he deſigns, on his return back, to take Brid- " roor¶, and ſo join Canara to his own conqueſts."

* See Note XXVIII. page 208.
† Chingavore is the Moor's name (or rather pronunciation) of Tanjore.
‡ Pilcundah, perhaps Volcondah.
§ The troops of Viziapore.
‖ Capital of Myſore.
¶ Bidnoor.

Madraſs,

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Madraſs, in a letter dated September 1, 1677, which is not to be found, adviſe the company, that the nearneſs of SEVAGI engageth all their attention to fortify; they deſcribe *his force and ſucceſs*, and had received three meſſengers from him with letters. July 9, 1678, they ſay that little action hath paſſed between the armies of the king of GOLCONDAH and SEVAGI.

It is from a ſubſequent record nine years later, in 1687, that we find SEVAGI paſſed by Trivadi, where we ſuppoſe he paid his devotions, as all the Morattoe generals have done ever ſince, who have been near it. We have ventured to aſcertain the outline of SEVAGI's conqueſts in the Carnatic, by the indication of ſubſequent occurrences, of which none ſuggeſt that he entered the kingdom of TANJORE. It appears by Manouchi, that Sambagi accompanied his father into the Carnatic.

In our hiſtory of the national wars in India, we have ſuppoſed Velore to have been built by the Morattoes, having underſtood ſo when there;* probably miſtaking poſſeſſion for foundation, from our ignorance of SEVAGI's conqueſt; which muſt intirely overſet that aſſertion, unleſs we ſhould hereafter find that the Carnatic had been in more ancient times a Morattoe ſovereignty; of which we have hitherto diſcovered no traces, excepting in the inaccurate talk of the people of the country.

* See The Military Tranſactions in Indoſtan, vol. i. page 45.

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NOTE XLIX.

Page 67, line 1. *We now reſume the war which Aurengzebe had conducted in perſon againſt the Pitans beyond the Indus, where he arrived in the beginning of the year* 1675.] We have taken all we ſay, both before and now, concerning this war of the Pitans, from Manouchi: but have adjuſted the few dates we give (for he gives none) from the records of Surat and Bombay, which often received intelligence of the diſtant affairs of the empire, and ſometimes mention them, but abſtractedly, referring to the original letters in Perſic, which we ſuppoſe are all loſt now, as well as the tranſlations, if any were made; even the dates of the intelligence are not recorded, but the mention aſcertains the time of receipt, and we have allowed for the journey.

We can have no expectation that an account of this war will ever be collected by any of our own nation, or other Europeans in India, all being, luckily for themſelves, at too great a diſtance from the country of the Pitans; but it may have been compiled by ſome writer at Delhi, and it is not improbable that an account of it, either more or leſs explicit than Manouchi's, is at preſent in Europe. Mr. ANQUETIL DU PERRON, in his Legiſlation Orientale, gives an extraordinary inſtance of the benevolent juſtice of Aurengzebe to an old woman, who maintained her family by a mill, of which his

his ſoldiers had turned off the water: this happened in 1674, at Aſſanabad; which we ſuppoſe the Aſſenabdal of Manouchi on the Indus, when Aurengzebe was marching to this war of the Pitans. Mr. Anquetil du Perron cites the incident from a manuſcript hiſtory of Indoſtan, compoſed by Mr. Gentil,* who ſerved long with reputation in the French army in India; and, with the languages, acquired much knowledge of the country. We flatter ourſelves that this work will be publiſhed. Every information concerning the Pitans and their country, will aſſiſt the hiſtory of the Sikes, the invaſion of Nadir Shah, and the later invaſions of the Afghans under their prince Abdalla.

NOTE L.

Page 70, line 22. *Panwell, a large town on the river Penn.*]—Panwell is *not* on the river Penn; but on another to the north of it, which opens due EAST from the middle of the iſland of Bombay; whereas the entrance of the river Penn is in the angle of the harbour, SOUTH-EAST of the iſland. The authority we followed is entitled to more than half the error; and this ſection of the Fragments was printed before we were ſet to rights by a plan of the march of the Engliſh army, in January 1778, from Bombay, to attack POONAH, the capital of the Morattoes. This plan, beſides the inland march, comprizes the harbour of Bombay, and the iſland of Salcette.

* See Note in page 171.

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The army landed, and commenced their firſt march from Panwell, which continued the depoſit of their ſtores and proviſions ſent from Bombay. The plan was ſent by Mr. R. H. Boddam, the chief of Surat, to his brother Mr. Charles Boddam, the director, and we were favoured with a copy of it by Mr. Dalrymple. It not only aſcertains the real ſituation of PANWELL, but likewiſe of ABITA, which ſoon occurs in our narrative; but it gives no indication concerning the river of *Negotan*, which is often mentioned in the ancient records we have conſidered, and in the firſt conqueſt of the Portugueſe, in 1536, when they took Baſſein and Tannah. Mr. D'Anville has inſerted the river Negotan in a ſituation where we do not ſee how it can exiſt; nevertheleſs we have given his poſition in our map, as a help to combinations which may tend to remove the obſcurity.

NOTE LI.

Page 73, line 6. *Of his* (Aurengzebe's) *brothers, Darah had written a treatiſe, endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of Bramah with the tenets of the Alcoran.*]—This treatiſe was brought to England by Mr. FRAZER, and is in the Radcliffe library, under the following title, as given by Mr. Frazer. "MUJMAH AL BARHAIN (*i. e.* the uniting of both ſeas). A "treatiſe wrote by *Sultan Darah Shekowh*, eldeſt brother to "*Aurang-zebe;* in which he endeavours to reconcile the "*Brahmins* religion with the *Mahommedan;* citing paſſages "from

" from the *Koran* to prove the ſeveral points. It was his " writing this book, and converſing ſo much with the *Brahmins*, " that chiefly loſt him the empire; for Aurengzebe made a " pretence of that, and conſequently had all the bigoted " Mahomedans to join him."

We learn from Mr. Anquetil du Perron, that " Sultan " Darah, in 1656, likewiſe cauſed a Perſic tranſlation to be " made by the Brahmins of Benaras, of the OUPNEKHAT*, " a work in the Sanſcrit language, of which the title ſig- " nifies, " the word that is not to be ſaid;" meaning, the " ſecret that is not to be revealed. This work is an extract " of the FOUR VEDES (Bedes) and gives, in fifty-one ſections, " the complete ſyſtem of the Hindoo theology; which eſta- " bliſheth the unity of the Firſt Being; whoſe perfections and " operations perſonified, become the names of the principal " divinities of the Hindoos; and demonſtrates the re-union " of all nature to this FIRST CAUSE, the DEITY." Of this curious work, Mr. Anquetil has promiſed to publiſh a tranſlation†.

* There is a copy of the Perſian verſion of this work in the Britiſh Muſeum, with a MS. tranſlation, which we underſtand was made by N. B. Halhed, Eſq. —This title, as written and pronounced by the Brahmans of Banaras, is according to the Engliſh orthography OUPANEESHAT, and of the French OUPANICHAT. The *Sanſkrit* character anſwering to the Engliſh *ſh* and the French *ch*, is, by the vulgar of India, often pronounced like *kh*, or *k* aspirated.

† This work has ſince been publiſhed at Paris, by M. Anquetil du Perron, in two large volumes in quarto, in which, at page 755 of the ſecond volume, is the following compliment to Mr. Orme: In alio ejuſdem hiſtoriæ exemplari *MS.* (fol. 6 recto) quod ad me miſit amicus meus eruditiſſimus et veritatis amantiſſimus Indiæ hiſtoriographus, D. ORMES (terrenaſne an cœleſtes auras ſpirat?) eadem præciſè: verùm *haſcht, octo* poſt *biſt* (28) in *ſatdjog* addito; quod rectiùs.

Mr. Bernier

SECT. I.

Mr. Bernier ſays, that in the laſt council held by Aurengzebe concerning the fate of Darah, an Omrah inſiſted on the neceſſity of his death, becauſe he had long quitted the religion of Mahomed, and was become a coffre, a pagan, and an idolater. He was accordingly put to death; for which Aurengzebe made the ſame apology to Sultan Shekowh, the ſon of Darah, whom he aſſured of ſafety, but deſtroyed by the poppy draught at Gualior.

Mr. Halhed's tranſlation of Darah's Preface to the Oupaneeſhat.

" Dàrà Shĕkòh's Preface.

" Praiſed be the Being among the eternal ſecrets of whom is the dot of *B* of the biſmillah in all the heavenly books, and glorified be the *Àlm* of the mother of books, which in the Holy Koran is a token of his glorious name: and the angels, and the heavenly books, and the prophets and ſaints, are all comprehended in this name. And be the bleſſing of God upon the beſt of his creatures, Mahomed, and upon his children, and upon his friends univerſally.—To proceed: Whereas the unſolicitous Fakeer *Mahommed Dàrà Shĕkòh*, in the 1050th year of the Hejrà, went to *Caſhmēēr*, the reſemblance of Paradiſe, by the attraction of the favour of God, and the bleſſing of the Infinite. He there obtained the auſpicious intercourſe of that moſt Perfect of the Perfect, of that Flower of Gnoſtics, of that Tutor of Tutors, of that Sage of Sages, of that Guide of Guides, of that Unitarian ſkilled in Truths, *Mōlànà Shàh*, on whom be the peace of God! And

whereas he was impreſſed with a longing to behold the gnoſtics of every ſect, and to hear the lofty expreſſions of Monotheiſm, and had caſt his eye on very many theological books, and been a follower of them for years; and as the thirſt for inveſtigation, which is a boundleſs ocean, became every moment increaſed, ſubtile doubts came into his mind, for which he had no poſſibility of ſolution, except by the words of God, and the direction of the Infinite Being. And whereas the holy Koran is almoſt totally myſterious, and at the preſent day the underſtanders thereof are very rare, he was deſirous to collect into view all the heavenly books, that the very word of God itſelf might be its own commentary; and if in one book it be compendious, in another book it might be found diffuſive; and from the detail of one, the conciſeneſs of the other might become comprehenſible: he had therefore caſt his eyes on the books of Moſes, and the Goſpels, and the Pſalms, and other holy pages; but the explanation of Monotheiſm in them alſo was compendious and myſterious; and from the ſlovenly tranſlations which prejudiced perſons had ſet forth, their purport was not intelligible. Thereafter he conſidered, on what account is Hindoſtan conſpicuous for Monotheiſm, is there ſo much diſcourſe of the Divine Unity, and wherefore, both in the exterior and interior practices of the moſt ancient ſect of Hind, is there no diſavowal of the Divine Unity, and no apoſtacy againſt Unitarians; but there is even a ſtock of faith in oppoſition to the blockheads of the SECT. I.

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preſent time, who have eſtabliſhed themſelves for erudite, and who, falling into the traces of murder and moleſtation, and apoſtatiſing from, and diſavowing the true proficients in God, and Unitarians, diſplay reſiſtance againſt all the words of Monotheiſm, which is moſt evident from the glorious Koran, and the authentic traditions of indubitable prophecy; and are highwaymen in the path of God. After verification of theſe circumſtances it appeared, that among this moſt ancient tribe, out of all their heavenly books there are four principal holy books, which are, the *Rik Vèd* (a), the *Yĕjûr Vèd* (b), the *Sàm Vèd* (c), and the *Athĕrbĕn Vèd* (d), together with a number of ordinances deſcended upon the prophets of thoſe times, the moſt eminent of whom was Adam, on whom be the peace of God! and this purport is manifeſt from thoſe ſame books. And it is alſo known out of the holy Koran, that there is no tribe without a Prophet, and without a Bible; and from ſundry paſſages therein it is proved, that God inflicts not puniſhment on any tribe, until a Prophet hath been ſent to them; and that there is no country wherein a religion accompanied with prophecy hath not been placed: and of a

(a) Rik Vèd—The word of God, in which the rythms of the letters of each Hemyſtych are equal in number.

(b) Yĕjûr Vèd—The word of God, in which the letters of the fourth Hemyſtych are unequal in number.

(c) Sàm Vèd—The word of God, which is chanted with muſic.

(d) Athĕrbĕn Vèd—The fourth book of God.

certainty,

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certainty, Prophets with conſpicuous miracles have been ſent, and holy books with them. And the principal parts of thoſe four books, wherein are contained all the ſecrets of the *Shlòks*,* and of the contemplative exerciſes of pure Monotheiſm, are called *ŏpnĕkhĕts* (e): and the Prophets of that time having extracted them, have written commentaries, with complete and diffuſive interpretations thereon; and being even ſtill underſtood as the beſt part of their religious worſhip, they are always ſtudied. And whereas the views of this Seeker of plain truth were directed to the origin of the unity of the Being, in the Arabic language, and the Syriac, and the Chaldaic, and the Shanſcrit, he was deſirous to comprehend theſe *ŏpnĕkhĕts*, which are a treaſury of Monotheiſm, and in which the proficients, even among that tribe, were become very rare, by tranſlating, and without any worldly motives, in a clear ſtyle, word for word. Since as this ſect hath kept them ſo exceedingly hidden and concealed from the profeſſors of Iſlàm, what are the ſecrets contained therein? And as at this period the city of *Bĕnàrĕs*, which is the metropolis of the ſciences of this tribe, was in certain relations with this Seeker of truth, having aſſembled together the *Pŭndits* and *Sĕnyàsees*, who were the moſt learned of their time, and proficients in

* Or *Slòks*, Verſes.

(e) Opnĕkhĕt, Oopaneeſhat, or Upaniſhat—A ſentence of Monotheiſm, which is a Secret to be concealed, according to the *Sanſkrit*.

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the *ŏpnĕkhĕts*, himſelf free from prejudices tranſlated theſe eſſential parts of Monotheiſm, which are the *ŏpnĕkhĕts*, i. e. Secrets to be concealed, and the end of the purport of all the ſaints of God, in the 1067th year of the Hejrà. And every difficulty, and every ſublime topic, which he had deſired and ſought, and had looked for and not found, he obtained from theſe eſſences of thoſe moſt antient books, which without doubt or ſuſpicion are the firſt of all heavenly books in point of time, and the ſource of the fountain of verity, and an ocean of Monotheiſm, and are in conformity with the holy Koran, and even a commentary thereon. And it becomes clearly manifeſt, that this ſentence is literally applicable to theſe ancient books, *viz.* the venerable Koran is in a book, which book is hidden, and which cannot be diſcovered except by the heart which is become purified, and which hath deſcended from Providence. It is evident to any perſon, that this ſentence is not applicable to the Pſalms, or to the books of Moſes, or to the Goſpel; and by the word '*deſcended*,' it is clear that it is not applicable to the reſerved tables of deſtiny. And whereas the *ŏpnĕkhĕts*, which are *Secrets to be concealed*, are the eſſence of this book, and the ſentences of the holy Koran are literally found therein, of a certainty therefore the '*hidden book*' is this moſt ancient book, and hereby things unknown became known, and things incomprehenſible became comprehended by this Fakeer. In beginning this tranſlation

tranſlation he opened the holy pages as an omen, and the chapter of Arâf * came up, of which the firſt ſentence is thus: "A. L. M. S. a book hath been ſent down unto thee, "and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breaſt concern- "ing it; that thou mayeſt preach the ſame, and that it may "be an admonition to the faithful:" and he had no intention, and no purport, except for the religious advancement of his children, and his friends, and the ſeekers of truth. Happy is he, who having abandoned the prejudices of vile ſelfiſhneſs, ſincerely and with the grace of God renouncing all partiality, ſhall ſtudy and comprehend this tranſlation, which is to be denominated '*mighty ſecrets*,' knowing it to be a tranſlation of the words of God: he ſhall become unperiſhable, and without dread, and without ſolicitude, and eternally liberated."

Sultan Darah's Prayer to RUDER.

A PRAYER *directed by the* BRAHMINS *to be offered up to the Supreme Being; written originally in the* SHANSCRIT *language, and tranſlated by* C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Eſquire, *from a Perſic verſion of* DARAH SHEKO, *a ſon of* SHAH JEHAN, *Emperor of Hindoſtan.*

"O RUDER, I reverence thee in thy majeſty, and in thy diſpleaſure. I reverence thy arrows, which convey deſtruc-

* Al Arâf is the 7th Chapter of the Koran, and this ſentence is borrowed from Sale's tranſlation, p. 117.

tion;

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tion; and thy bow, thy quiver, and thy arms, which are the givers of victory. Look toward me with that countenance of benignity, mild like the face of the moon, by which thou beſtoweſt joy, and doeſt away all ſins.

"O thou, who art the Lord of mighty mountains, diſpel the pains of all mankind; make them joyful, and defend them from harm; and grant that I may remain ſecure under thy guardianſhip and protection. Thou art the great Phyſician of Phyſicians! heal thou my infirmities; diſperſe my vicious and malevolent inclinations, which lead me into the road of evil.

"I reverence thee in the ſun, which is thy image, whilſt it ſcatters a hundred thouſand vivifying rays over the univerſe; whilſt in meridian brightneſs it diffuſes gladneſs: nor leſs when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes thy anger. Turn away that anger from me.—I reverence him who is the ſource of joy to living creatures, whoſe nature is exempt from decay, and knows not the increaſe of age. To him and all that ſprings from him I owe reverence and honour.

"O RUDER, ſtring thy bow to defend me from all my open or ſecret enemies. Shoot the arrows of thy quiver to deſtroy them. When thou haſt deſtroyed my enemies, and unſtrung thy bow, and taken off the points of thy arrows, and art rejoiced, then grant that I likewiſe may rejoice. But thy bow is not like other bows, nor thy arrows like other arrows. Thou needeſt not to ſtring the bow, nor to ſharpen the points of

arrows. Thou needeſt not the ſword like other ſwords, to accompliſh thy purpoſes. O thou who canſt fulfil deſires, whoſe deſigns no enemy can baffle, guard and protect me on every ſide, and drive my enemies far from me. SECT. I.

" O RUDER, thy arm is like ſhining gold. Thou art the Lord of all armies. All cauſes of things have their origin in thee. Thou art the cauſe of cauſes. Thou art ſpace. The verdure of the fields is thine. Thou art Lord of all the beaſts, and the birds, and other living creatures. Thou art the guide: every light that ſhines is thy light. Thou entereſt into all: thou ſuſtaineſt all.

" O puniſher of thoſe who go aſtray, O Lord of life, O pureſt of beings! terrify not thy creatures, ſtrike them not, deſtroy them not; nor let even one of them ſuffer pain from thee. O thou, who giveſt ſtrength to the feeble, and medicines to the ſick; grant me thy ſupport, that I may enjoy health, and live. O RUDER, turn my underſtanding toward thee, for thou art the Lord of power. I beſeech thee to keep all creatures which belong to me, whether man or beaſt, in quiet and ſecurity. Preſerve all the inhabitants of this city. Afflict them not with ſickneſs: do thou, RUDER, give them health,and drive diſeaſes far from them. We all come before thee in ſupplication: grant unto us all thoſe bleſſings which our fathers aſked of thee for us, when they were deſirous of bringing us into exiſtence. Old men, and young children, and infants yet unborn, all join in ſacrifice and prayer unto thee.

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thee. O thou, who art ever young and mighty, thou ſource of joy, be gracious toward me. O thou, who wanteſt nothing, who art worthy of adoration, I reverence thee. O thou, who employeſt thy arms for my ſecurity, who haſt thouſands of thouſands of weapons, ſcatter my enemies, and deſtroy them; for thou, RUDER, art ſupreme in every part of nature. Exert, for my protection thy powers, which are over the earth, the air, and the heavens, and under the earth; which ſhow themſelves in the plains, in the vegetation of the trees, in the various ſpecies of living creatures, in the waters, and in food, provided for the ſupport of life. Thou, who deſtroyeſt all which eat the food and drink the waters; who art amidſt the guardians of the highways, and in the places of worſhip: in all thou art the infinite RUDER; in every one I implore thee to protect me, and to diſarm my enemies. To thee, and all thy other various powers and attributes not here enumerated, I offer reverence. Ten times toward the eaſt, ten times toward the ſouth, ten times toward the weſt, and ten times toward the north, I bow myſelf before thy earthly powers, and invoke their aid, that I may enjoy health, and ſee the deſtruction of my enemies. Ten times toward the eaſt, ten times toward the ſouth, ten times toward the weſt, ten times toward the north, and ten times with my eyes on heaven above, I bow myſelf before thy aërial and heavenly powers, whoſe arrows are the wind and rain: I invoke their aid, that I may enjoy health, and ſee the deſtruction of my enemies. Every one of

theſe

theſe is RUDER, whoſe infinite power I reverence: RUDER, whoſe fulneſs is in all. All that has been, it is he. All that is, it is he. All that ſhall be, it is he." SECT. I.

The foregoing Prayer is extracted from the JUDGER BEDE: *to which it may be curious to ſubjoin a Deſcription of* RUDER, *to whom it is addreſſed, as contained in another ſacred book, intitled, the* ATHERBUN BEDE.

"The angels, having aſſembled themſelves in heaven before RUDER, made obeiſance, and aſked him, O RUDER, what art thou? RUDER replied, were there any other, I would deſcribe myſelf by ſimilitude. I always was, I always am, and always ſhall be. There is no other, ſo that I can ſay to you, I am like him. In this ME is the inward eſſence, and the exterior ſubſtance, of all things. I am the primitive cauſe of all. All things that exiſt in the eaſt, or weſt, or north, or ſouth, above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I am King of Kings. My attributes are tranſcendent. I am truth. I am the ſpirit of creation; I am the Creator. I am the knowledge of the four BEDES*. I am Almighty. I am purity. I am the firſt, and the middle, and the end. I am the light. And for this purpoſe do I exiſt, that whoſoever knows Me, may know all the angels, and all

* The Sacred Writings of the Hindoos, in the *Shanſcrit* language.

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books, and all their ordinances. And whoſoever knows the learning of the Bedes, from thence he will learn the duties of life, he will underſtand truth, and his actions will be virtuous. And to thoſe who practiſe virtue will I give fulneſs and tranquillity."

RUDER having pronounced theſe words to the angels, was abſorbed in his own brightneſs.

NOTE LII.

Page 73, line 15. *He* (Aurengzebe) *determined to enforce the converſion of the Hindoos throughout the empire, by the ſeveреſt penalties.*]—DE GRAAF, when at Hughly in Bengal, in the year 1670, ſays, "Au mois de Janvier tous les *gouverneurs* " *& officiers maures* reçurent ordre du *Grand Mogul d' empecher* " *l' exercice de la religion payenne dans tout le pays, & de faire* " *murer tous les temples ou pagodes des idolatres.* On diminua " en meme temps les taxes des marchands *Mahomedans* & " on augmenta celles des *idolatres* dans l' eſperance que " quelques Payens embraſſeroient la religion *Mahomedanne.* " Et pour mieux faire paroitre ſa pieté, l' empereur envoya a " la Mecque une tres groſſe ſomme d' argent a l' honneur de " ſon grand prophete Mahomed. Il depecha auſſi des ordres " pour defendre tous les lieux publics de debauche; mais " pour lui il n' obſervoit pas ces ordres dans ſon palais."

In

In 1674 he forbad the uſe of cochineal in the dyeing of garments, as too ſplendid a colour for the ſanctity of a Mahomedan. SECT. I.

NOTE LIII.

Page 73, line 23. *An old woman led a multitude in arms.*]—This ſtory is told by Manouchi, as well as by Dow, but with different circumſtances.

NOTE LIV.

Page 74, line 9. *Abnir, Chitore, and Joudpore, are the three great Rajahſhips of Indoſtan.*]—The ſtanding force and revenue of theſe princes in 1770, were reputed,

Of ABNIR, twenty thouſand horſe and eighteen thouſand foot; revenue fourteen millions of rupees.

Of JOUDPORE, which is more commonly called the Rajah of MARVAR, thirty thouſand horſe; his revenues above ten millions of rupees.

Of CHITORE, twenty thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot; his revenues likewiſe are computed at ten millions of rupees.

We have this note from Mr. C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE; and hope that the late expedition from Bengal into the province of Malva, will have acquired ample information concerning the language, geography, and ancient hiſtory of theſe

SECT. I. countries; for ſuch an opportunity will not ſoon occur again.

NOTE LV.

Page 75, line 22. *The Rajah Jeſſwont Sing died in the beginning of the year* 1678.]—He had written the following letter to Aurengzebe.

" All due praiſe be rendered to the glory of the Almighty, " and the munificence of your majeſty, which is conſpicuous " as the ſun and moon. Although I, your well-wiſher, have " ſeparated myſelf from your ſublime preſence, I am never- " theleſs zealous in the performance of every bounden act of " obedience and loyalty. My ardent wiſhes and ſtrenuous " ſervices are employed to promote the proſperity of the " Kings, Nobles, Mirzas, Rajahs, and Roys, of the provinces " of Hindoſtan, and the chiefs of Æraun, Turaun, Room, and " Shawn, the inhabitants of the ſeven climates, and all per- " ſons travelling by land and by water. This my inclination " is notorious, nor can your royal wiſdom entertain a doubt " thereof. Reflecting therefore on my former ſervices, and " your majeſty's condeſcenſion, I preſume to ſolicit the royal " attention to ſome circumſtances, in which the public as " well as private welfare is greatly intereſted.

" I have been informed, that enormous ſums have been " diſſipated in the proſecution of the deſigns formed againſt " me, your well-wiſher; and that you have ordered a tri-

" bute

" bute to be levied to ſatisfy the exigences of your ex-
" hauſted treaſury.

" May it pleaſe your majeſty, your royal anceſtor Maho-
" med Jelaul ul Deen Akbar, whoſe throne is now in heaven,
" conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm
" ſecurity for the ſpace of fifty-two years, preſerving every
" tribe of men in caſe and happineſs, whether they were fol-
" lowers of Jeſus, or of Moſes, or David, or Mahomed; were
" they Bramins, were they of the ſect of DHARIANS, which
" denies the eternity of matter, or of that which aſcribes the
" exiſtence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed
" his countenance and favour; inſomuch that his people, in
" gratitude for the indiſcriminate protection he afforded
" them, diſtinguiſhed him by the appellation of Juggut
" Grow (Guardian of Mankind).

" His majeſty Mahomed Noor ul Deen Jehangheer, like-
" wiſe, whoſe dwelling is now in paradiſe, extended, for a
" period of twenty-two years, the ſhadow of his protection
" over the heads of his people; ſucceſsful by a conſtant
" fidelity to his allies, and a vigorous exertion of his arm
" in buſineſs.

" Nor leſs did the illuſtrious Shâh Jehân, by a propitious
" reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himſelf immortal repu-
" tation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue.

" Such were the benevolent inclinations of your anceſtors.
" Whilſt they purſued theſe great and generous principles,

" whereſoever

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" wherefoever they directed their fteps, conqueft and prof-
" perity went before them; and then they reduced many
" countries and fortreffes to their obedience. During your
" majefty's reign, many have been alienated from the em-
" pire, and farther lofs of territory muft neceffarily follow,
" fince devaftation and rapine now univerfally prevail with-
" out reftraint. Your fubjects are trampled under foot, and
" every province of your empire is impoverifhed; depopu-
" lation fpreads, and difficulties accumulate. When indi-
" gence has reached the habitation of the fovereign and his
" princes, what can be the condition of the nobles? As to
" the foldiery, they are in murmurs; the merchants com-
" plaining, the Mahomedans difcontented, the Hindoos deft-
" titute, and multitudes of people, wretched even to the
" want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads through-
" out the day in rage and defperation.

" How can the dignity of the fovereign be preferved, who
" employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from a people
" thus miferably reduced? At this juncture it is told from
" eaft to weft, that the emperor of Hindoftan, jealous of the
" poor Hindoo devotee, will exact a tribute from Bramins,
" Sanorahs, Joghies, Berawghies, Sonaffees; that, regardlefs
" of the illuftrious honour of his Timurean race, he conde-
" fcends to exercife his power over the folitary inoffenfive
" anchoret. If your majefty places any faith in thofe books,
" by diftinction called divine, you will there be inftructed,

" that

" that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of " Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Muſſulman are " equally in his preſence. Diſtinctions of colour are of his " ordination. It is he who gives exiſtence. In your temples, " to his name the voice is raiſed in prayer; in a houſe of " images, where the bell is ſhaken, ſtill he is the object of " adoration. To vilify the religion or cuſtoms of other " men, is to ſet at naught the pleaſure of the Almighty. " When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the reſent- " ment of the painter; and juſtly has the poet ſaid, Preſume " not to arraign or ſcrutinize the various works of power " divine.

" In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is " repugnant to juſtice: it is equally foreign from good po- " licy, as it muſt impoveriſh the country: moreover, it is an " innovation and an infringement of the laws of Hindoſtan. " But if zeal for your own religion hath induced you to deter- " mine upon this meaſure, the demand ought, by the rules of " equity, to have been made firſt upon RAMSING, who is " eſteemed the principal amongſt the Hindoos. Then let " your well-wiſher be called upon, with whom you will have " leſs difficulty to encounter; but to torment ants and flies " is unworthy of an heroic or generous mind. It is wonder- " ful that the miniſters of your government ſhould have " neglected to inſtruct your majeſty in the rules of rectitude " and honour."

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The elegant tranſlation of this letter was made and given to us by Mr. C. W. Boughton Rouſe.

NOTE LVI.

Page 79, line 2. *The iſland of Kenary.*]—We have extracted all we ſay of the diſpute, which enſued for this and the adjacent iſland of Kenary, from the daily correſpondence between the council of Bombay, and their cruizers on this ſervice.

NOTE LVII.

Page 84, line 23. *Dongong, where the Engliſh had factors, Chupra, and other great marts, were again plundered, and Brampore ſhut its gates.*]—*Dongong* is likewiſe ſpelt in the records, Dorongom, and Drongom. Gong means a town, and occurs frequently in the geography of Candiſh and Aurengabad, and ſtill more in the Morattoe country. We find that the Engliſh preſidency at Surat, eſtabliſhed a factory at *Drongom*, in April 1674; but their correſpondence does not aſcertain the ſituation of the place, which appears to have been under the juriſdiction of *Aurengabad*; for on ſome injury which the factory had received from the Phouſdar of the diſtrict (it was towards the end of 1682) the preſidency procured a letter from the governor of Surat

Surat to the Duan at Aurengabad, to redreſs the grievance. The factors ſay, that *Drongom* is 130 coſs from *Surat:* the road was by *Saler Moler* and *Nourdabar*, whereabouts a caphila of the company's goods, coming from Drongom, was plundered in January 1681, by a troop of banditti, who were not Morattoes.

Mr. D'Anville, following Thevenot, in his route from Brampore to Bider and Golcondah, gives a *Deulgong*, to the eaſt of Brampore and Aurengabad, nearly equally diſtant from both. And its diſtance from Surat agrees nearly with the 130 coſs given by the factors. We find this place in our MSS. of the Decan, under the province of BERAR, as the head of a purgunnah or diſtrict, in the government or circar of *Mekker*.

A *Dongom* ariſes in the marches of Mr. Buſſy, between Aurengabad and Golcondah; but its diſtance from Surat is too great, not to prefer the other: this Dongom is not mentioned in our MSS. of the Decan, under the ſubahs either of Aurengabad, Bider, or Golcondah; to one of which it muſt belong.

The inveſtment provided for the company at Drongom in 1683, was,

10,000 pieces of broad baftaes.

10,000 pieces of ſevaguzzies.

2,500 maunds (100,000 lbs.) of turmerick.

NOTE LVIII.

Page 86, line 23. *Amongst others, they ſacked Huttany, a very conſiderable mart.*]—*Huttany* is mentioned as ſuch, not only by Fryer, but likewiſe in the records of the Engliſh factory at Carwar, which had continual dealings there; nevertheleſs, if at that time, it has not of late years been the head of a purgunnah or diſtrict, becauſe the name does not occur in our MSS. of the Decan. Mr. D'ANVILLE has placed a town called *Atteni*, forty miles WEST of Viziapore, and twenty EAST of Raibaug; but this is too near the capital to have been maintained for any time, although it might have formerly been plundered by Sevagi. We have inſerted the *Atteni* of Mr. D'Anville into our map.

NOTE LIX.

Page 89, line 14. *His* (Sevagi's) *diſorder, although increaſing every day, was kept ſecret within his palace at Rairee; and if it had been publiſhed would not have been believed, ſince he had more than once ſent abroad reports of his death, at the very time he was ſetting out on ſome ſignal excurſion.*]

Page 90, line 2. *He expired on the* 5th *of April* 1680, *and in the fifty-ſecond year of his age.*]—BOMBAY, on the 28th of April 1680, write to the preſidency of Surat; "We have cer-

"tain

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" tain news that SEVAGEE RAJAH is dead; it is now twenty-
" three days ſince he deceaſed, 'tis ſaid of a bloody flux,
" being ſick twelve days. How affairs go in his country, we
" ſhall adviſe as comes to our knowledge; at preſent all is
" quiet, and Sambagee Rajah is at Parnella." The purport of another letter from Bombay to Surat, which is dated the 3d of May 1680, likewiſe confirms the death of Sevagi.

SURAT, anſwering, on the 7th of May, to the letter from Bombay of the 28th April, ſay, "SEVAGEE's death is con-
" firmed from all places; yet ſome are ſtill under a doubt of
" the truth, *ſuch reports having been uſed to run of him before*
" *ſome conſiderable attempt;* therefore ſhall not be too confi-
" dent until better aſſured." The next letter from Surat is of the 18th of May, in which they expreſs no farther doubt of his death; and two Engliſh factors, who had been ſent to Rajapore in order to receive the balance of account allowed by Sevagi to the company, write on the 22d of June to Bombay, that they were diſappointed by the arrival of a new ſubadar or governor, who declared that he ſhould pay nothing without the expreſs orders of SAMBAGEE; on which the factors ſent a meſſenger to Sambagee, who was certainly at Pannela, and anſwered, that he ſhould examine the accounts, but was at that time employed in other affairs.

The agency of *Bengal*, in anſwer to the advices they had received from Bombay of SEVAGI's death, write on the 13th of December 1680, "SEVAGI *has died ſo often*, that ſome

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" begin to think him immortal. 'Tis certain, little belief can " be given to any report of his death, until experience tell " the waining of his hitherto proſperous affairs; ſince when " he dies *indeed*, it is thought he has none to leave behind " him that is capacitated to carry on things at the rate and " fortune he has all along done."

The dates we have quoted from Bombay, Surat, and Rajapore, inconteſtably prove, that Mr. Fryer is miſtaken in ſaying, SEVAGI died on the firſt of June 1680; but as Mr. Fryer did not digeſt his letters for publication until twenty years after their date, his memory might eaſily fail in correcting the error of his memorandum. But Catrou, although guided by MANOUCHI (who ſays more of Sevagi than all the other writers, and particularizes the cauſe of his death) ſimply ſays, that he died in 1679: from which we conclude, that Catrou did not find the particular date in Manouchi's manuſcript, and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own.

NOTE LX.

Page 90, line 6. *Attendants, animals, and wives, were burnt with his corpſe.*]—We have theſe circumſtances of Sevagi's funeral from Mr. Fryer; from whom we likewiſe learn, that Sevagi, during Mr. Oxenden's embaſſy in 1674, married his fourth wife; but the mother of his ſon Ramrajah was ex-

empted from his funeral pile; and ſo would Sambagi's, if ſhe had been alive, as having both paſſed the term of beauty, which ſeems alone to be conſecrated to this cruel penalty, and almoſt revokes the reſpect which contemplation cannot refuſe to the gentle manners of the Hindoos in all other obſervances. SECT. I.

The Bramins always preſide and officiate in theſe ſacrifices, and with more zeal than in any other of their prieſtly functions, excepting when they ſacrifice themſelves to ſave the temple of their religion.

The Jeſuits in JARRIC ſay, that three hundred and ſeventy-five women burnt with the NAIGUE of Tanjore, who died in 1602; which we ſuppoſe to be the honeſt but enthuſiaſtic credulity of miſſionaries lamenting the infernal ſtate of the heathens they wiſhed to convert.

If the princes of the Hindoos, who alone could have ſuppreſſed, have encouraged theſe deathful rites, by ſuffering the profuſion devoted to their own obſequies; they themſelves are obliged to ſurrender even an infant daughter, if betrothed, to the immolation, when called for by the manes of a huſband.

NOTE LXI.

Page 91, line 20. *Broods were raiſed from the moſt approved.*]—The horſes bred in India, although naturally more

vicious

SECT. I.

vicious than thoſe of Arabia, Perſia, and Tartary, are, like them, preſerved intire. It is rare that any of race or value have been ſeen by the European travellers at open paſture; which in Coromandel is too arid, and in Bengal too rank, to give them ſize and vigour; nevertheleſs a few are ſeen ſtraggling in every part of theſe countries, but ſo diminutive and naught, that no one owns them, and they may be taken up for the fee of a few pence to the Zemindar: and there is a breed at COLAR, weſt of VELORE, which, although reſtive, and not hardy, ſerve for the wretched cavalry of the neighbouring polygars. Sevagi, at the time of his death, had 60,000 horſe, and as many foot, always ready for the field, beſides his ſtationary guards and garriſons. The Morattoe horſes are of all ſorts and ſizes, but always lean, active, and hardy, the effect of continual exerciſe and fatigue, ſo that it is probable fewer ſurvive than periſh under the experiment of ſervice. In detachments of ambuſcade they rode mares, not to be diſcovered by neighing. It is worth the inquiry to know in what parts of India the good horſes are bred, together with the properties of the ſoil, and the care of the breeder.

A race which have height and agility are bred on the river KUTCH; another, ſtronger, on the INDUS, but in what part we have not yet diſcovered.

Mr. Fryer ſays, that SEVAGI ſtabled his choiceſt horſes at DECIR, at the foot of the gaut going to Jenneah, "for the

"conveniency

" conveniency of this plain to ſupply them with hay and " corn, which cauſeth them to have the greater force." By corn we ſuppoſe he means rice. M. Anquetil du Perron, in his journey from Surat to Baſſein, ſaw near *Naucari* " des " paturages garnies de chevaux." We have found no other mentions of *ſtables* or horſe paſtures in the Morattoe country. Where are the reſt?

NOTE LXII.

Page 94, line 3. *In perſonal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record.*]—Mr. FRYER ſays, that he even wiſhed to command his fleet in perſon, and tried the element; but his conſtitution could not overcome the nauſea.

NOTE LXIII.

Page 95, line 5. *His ſtate has been always increaſing.*]—It is ſaid that Aurengzebe uſed to call Sevagi, the Mountain Rat; and we have often wondered what affinity there could be, to give occaſion for this epithet. One ſays, that Seva means a rat, in one of the Indian languages. We thought it might be in deriſion of his figure, which was ſhort, thick, and black: but we have now found (Jan. 1785) in Brett's Feyjoo, vol. 1, page 58, a deſcription of the properties of an animal which Feyjoo calls the Rat of India, that makes the appel-

lation

SECT. I.

lation applied to Sevagi a compliment, and very characteriſtic of his military policy.

However we muſt not be ſure that Aurengezebe had this animal in his idea, until we know whether it exiſts in India Proper; for if it does not, but in other parts of the Eaſt Indies, and if not there, in America, which the Spaniards call India, it may be that Aurengzebe never had any idea of the animal, unleſs he read it in ſome Arabic, Turkiſh, or Perſic hiſtory, in all which languages he was completely ſkilled.—This muſt be inquired into, for the alluſion is moſt appoſite.

NOTE LXIV.

Page 95, line 6. *This ſtate compriſed, on the weſtern ſide of India, all the coaſt, with the back country of the hills from Mirzeou to Verſal; excepting the ſmall territory of Goa to the ſouth, Bombay, Salcette, and the Portugueſe country between Baſſein and Daman to the north.*]—Thus SEVAGI had reduced the whole tract of the ſea-coaſt, which had been ſubject to the kingdom of Viziapore; and, according to BALDÆUS, who was in India from 1655 to 1666, extended from the river Mirzeou to Dando. Dando lies between Agacim and Daman; from whence to Verſal, thirty miles, we ſuppoſe belonged either to the Moguls, or to independent Rajahs.

NOTE

NOTE LXV.

Page 95, line 12. *The whole* (of SEVAGI's dominion to the weſt) *may be eſteemed four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth.*]—To ſave doubt, and the trouble of compariſon, we ſhall obſerve, that this extent differs from what is given in Note XXIX; becauſe there we are computing what we ſuppoſe to have been the original country of the Morattoes, but here, the territory which SEVAGI had reduced under his own ſovereignty.

NOTE LXVI.

Page 100, line 16. ACBAR]—BERNIER ſays, that Aurengzebe (in the year 1664) "ſummoned his privy council, and "the moſt learned perſons of his court, to decide on the new "preceptor he ſhould give to his third ſon ACBAR, whom he "*intends* to be his ſucceſſor." Acbar was at this time about ſeven years of age; and we find by other accounts, that this preference aroſe from Acbar being the ſon of a Mahomedan mother, the daughter of Shânâvaze Khan, who, as one of the Sophy family, was deſcended from Mahomed, by his daughter married to Ali; whereas the Sultans Mauzum and Azim were born of the daughters of Rajpoot princes. We are ignorant how long the preference of Acbar continued; but it had ceaſed ſome time before the commencement of the war

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againſt the Rajpoot Rajahs; and probably from the concurrence of ſeveral cauſes. Sultan Mauzum had manifeſted abilities, courage, and on all occaſions implicit obedience; and in theſe qualities even Sultan Azim exceeded Acbar; who, naturally wayward and arrogant, aſſumed the ſucceſſion to the throne as a right, inſtead of an undue predilection in his favour; which diminiſhed ſtill more after the birth of Cawn Bukſh, whom Aurengzebe cheriſhed with the utmoſt tenderneſs, as the ſon of his old age, and of his favourite wife Udeperri, who governed him in all concerns relating to his family; and from this time Aurengzebe no longer held out Sultan Acbar as the general heir of the empire; whom this change in his expectations exaſperated to the revolt we are relating.

NOTE LXVII.

Page 101, line 14. *This day was the* 11*th* (read the 9th) *of January* 1681.]—We have taken this date from Manouchi, one of the very few he gives; although it barely allows time for what paſſed within the limit of another date, of which there can be no doubt.

NOTE LXVIII.

Page 102, line 15. *The pavilions of Aurengzebe.*]—Which are deſcribed by MANOUCHI as compartments of wood; but

1 Bernier,

Bernier, who went on the journey to Caſhmire in 1664, deſcribes the field equipage of Aurengzebe at that time, as conſiſting of tents. SECT. I.

NOTE LXIX.

Page 103, line 3. *Acbar put his treaſure, with his infant ſon and daughter, and the females of his family, on his elephants and camels.*]

* Page 103, line 10. *But Acbar only accepted the ſervice of 500 Rajpoots, and the protection of the ſtate to his children and family.*]

Neither Manouchi, who we believe was at this time in the army of Sultan Mauzum, nor OVINGTON and HAMILTON, who were at Surat in 1690, and ſpeak of this revolt, make any mention of Sultan Acbar's children: they appear in the Surat records of the year 1693, and explain a point of hiſtory, left in great obſcurity by all the accounts we have ſeen of the acceſſion of the emperor Mahomed Shah, in 1718.

NOTE LXX.

Page 104, line 15 and 16. *Acbar—arrived on the firſt of June* (1681) *at Pawlee Gur, a fort and town at the foot of the Gauts, a day's journey from the ſhore oppoſite to Bombay.*]—BOMBAY writes to Surat on the 10th of June 1681, "There

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" has been a flying report here for some days, that SULTAN " ECBAR is come down into Sambagee's country; and two " days ago came over hither from the main a Moor inhabi- " tant of our island, who says he saw him at a place called " *Pawlee*, about a day's journey from *Negotan*, where he is " with about four hundred horse, and two hundred and fifty " camels, and some small number of foot, being all that is " with him; that he is saluted as KING; at his entrance into " the Rajah's dominions was met by several of his grandees, " by his order, and conducted to the aforesaid place, where " it is said the Rajah is daily expected to wait on him. We " intend a man over to the main, who shall go where he is, " and learn what he can, and then shall give you a full ac- " count of all. It's said that the RANAH* and SAMBAGEE " RAJAH intend to join their forces, and endeavour to set " SULTAN ECBAR in his father's kingdom†."

Again, Bombay, on the twenty-first of June, writes to Surat; "Our last was of the tenth instant, sent by the Carwar " expresses. We then wrote you of SULTAN ECBAR'S being " at a place called *Pawlee*, near *Negotan*, and of our inten- " tions to send a man thither to enquire into the truth of it, " and learn what might be farther worthy your knowledge. " The man we sent returned to us last night, and brings us " this account: The SULTAN is really there; he is a white

* We suppose, of Chitore.

† A mistake, we suppose, for throne.

" man

" man of middle ſtature, of about 25 years* of age: he is " lodged in a large houſe covered with ſtraw, at the foot of " Pawlee Gur: it has tallah walls; but ſince his being there, " are pulled down; it is lined within with white calico, and " ſpread with ordinary carpets: he ſits open: with him of " any note is but one man, called Drugdas, a *Raſhpoot* of the " RANAH'S, in great eſteem with his maſter; about five hun- " dred horſe, and but fifty camels; a ſmall parcel of foot: " they are all lodged near about the SULTAN, and are moſt " *Raſhpoots*, very few *Moors*. Without them is quite round " placed about three hundred foot, Sambagee Rajah's men, " who keep guard: all the Subadars near about are there to " wait on him; and about four days ago came from Sambagee " Rajah to him, one Harji Pharſang, a perſon of great " quality and eſteem: he brought with him a letter from his " maſter, and a preſent that was laid down at the SULTAN'S " feet; 1000 pagodas, a large ſtring of great pearl, hanging " to it a rich jewel ſet with a very large diamond, and a large " jewel of diamonds for the head, with many pieces of rich " India and Perſia ſtuffs: the 1000 pagodas the next day he " divided amongſt his men. All the reſpect imaginable is " paid him; and proviſions for himſelf, horſe, and men, is " daily brought in by the ſeveral Subadars, being SAMBAGEE " RAJAH'S orders; who himſelf waits for a good day to ſet

SECT. I.

* See Note LXVI. concerning Acbar's age.

" out

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" out of *Pernella* * towards the Sultan, which, it is talked,
" will be in a few days more; and that he will wait on the
" Sultan ſtanding, and not ſit in his preſence; for the Sultan
" permits none to ſit in his preſence, and all that come to
" him ſalute him as KING. He is in want of money, but
" hath with him jewels of great value. It is in every body's
" mouth on the main, that the RANAH and SAMBAGEE
" RAJAH, &c. Rajahs, do reſolve to join all their forces, and
" endeavour to make him KING: and this is all we have
" concerning him."

NOTE LXXI.

Page 105, line 21. RAMRAJAH *was ſent to reſide in one of the forts of the Carnatic.*]—We have not yet been able to diſcover in what fort: but ſuppoſe the knowledge might eaſily be obtained at Madraſs, although with more difficulty, what is of more concern, the circumſtances of his life, during the nine enſuing years.

NOTE LXXII.

Page 118, line 5. *In this year,* 1682, *the Engliſh company's factors were expelled from Bantam, in the iſland of Java.*].—The

* Pannela.

murderous

murderous buſineſs of *Amboyna* in 1624, with the later expulſion of the Engliſh from *Macaſſar* in 1670, and now from BANTAM, with the inevitable fall of their diſtant factories under this agency, gave the DUTCH, who likewiſe held the coaſts of CEYLON, the exclusive poſſeſſion of the four rich ſpices, with the greateſt ſhare of the pepper, produced in the Eaſt Indies; and this monopoly had been ſo evidently the object of their policy, from the firſt outſets of their trade to India*, that the revolution of Bantam was imputed, even before examination, by all except themſelves, to the proſecution of the ſame deſign. The diſcuſſion ſoon followed. Mr. Chidlie, the Engliſh envoy, delivered a memorial to the States General in April 1683, and was aſſiſted by Sir John Chardin, the traveller, deputed by the Eaſt India company. But at the end of the year the company prepared twenty-two ſhips, and avowed their intention of reinſtating themſelves in Bantam by force of arms: on which the STATES broke off the negotiation; and in March 1684 the king, CHARLES the 2d, ſtopped the armament, ready to ſail, and ordered the negotiation to be reſumed by his miniſters; when, after many delays, it was agreed that four commiſſioners ſhould be named SECT. I.

* See eſpecially Memoire dreſſé par l'admiral *C. Matclief* au ſujet de l'Etat et du commerce des Indes, vol. 6 of the Recueil des Voyages qui ont ſervi à l'etabliſſement et au progrez de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Pais Bas. 8vo. A Rouen MDCCXXV.

And indeed the narratives in this whole collection prove their earneſt purſuit to acquire this monopoly to themſelves.

by

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by each of the companies, who were to prefer their demands and objections to a board of deciſors, conſiſting of eight members, four appointed by the king, and four by the ſtates. The Engliſh deciſors were the Lords Sunderland, Clarendon, Rocheſter, and Middleton. The Dutch were likewiſe of high rank*; and four directors of their company† were oppoſed to Sir Joſeph Aſhe, the governor, Sir Joſiah Child the deputy-governor, Sir John Bathurſt and Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, directors of the Engliſh company. The proceſs was held in London, to which the Dutch directors and deciſors repaired. The allegations and teſtimonies were all preferred in writing; and the firſt was delivered by the Dutch directors on the 27th of May 1685; but after ſixteen anſwers and replies, beſides much more in proofs and arguments, nothing was decided in January 1686; when, from the ceſſation of the pleas, we ſuppoſe the Dutch repreſentatives returned to Holland, where we find the negotiation renewed by the Marquis D'Abbeville, in *Auguſt* 1687, with additional complaints of new violences committed at *Gombroon*, *Metchlepatam*, and on the Malabar coaſt. But ſtill no reparation was made, and probably no

* Lord Anth. Heinſius, councillor and penſionary of the city of Delf; John Goes, lord of Abamade, conſul of the city of Leyden; Iſaac Vanden Heuvell, councillor; Adrigan de Borſſele Vander Hoge, ſenator of the ſupreme court of Holland.

† The Heer Gerrard Hooft of the council of Amſterdam; Jacob Van Hoorn of the council of Fluſhing; Solomon Van de Blocquerii, and Adrian Paets, of the council of Rotterdam.

longer

longer urged by the councils of England, agitating with the Dutch a REVOLUTION of very different import.*

The pleas of the two companies appear in two publications. The one intitled, "A Juſtification of the Directors "of the Netherlands company, as delivered to the States "General the 22nd of July 1686, touching the affair of *Bantam*, and other controverſies at *Macaſſar*, and on the coaſt "of *Malabar*, and at *Gamron*; with a juſtification in anſwer "to ſeveral memorials lately given to the States General by "the Marquis of Albeville, touching *Maſlipatam* and other "parts of *India*." The whole factum is dated the 4th of October 1687, and was tranſlated into French, and miſerable Engliſh. It is a dull and conceited performance, and was anſwered by "An impartial VINDICATION of the Engliſh "Eaſt India company from the unjuſt and ſlanderous imputations caſt upon them in a treatiſe, intitled, A Juſtification "of the Directors of the Netherlands Eaſt India company, "&c." London, 1678. The Dutch treatiſe was annexed to the Engliſh vindication†, in which are ſeveral poſitions which, without his name, ſufficiently indicate the knowledge and good ſenſe of Sir Joſiah Child, whoſe opinions‡ concerning the commerce of India, although continually cla-

* See ADDITIONAL NOTE concerning the expulſion of the Engliſh from Macaſſar in 1670, and from Bantam in 1682, page 277.

† Both were printed together, London, 1678, octavo.

‡ Publiſhed in a treatiſe, intitled, The Eaſt India trade a moſt profitable trade to the nation. London, 1677, quarto.

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moured againſt, have not been confuted by the experience of a century.

The Dutch company denied the accuſation of having inſtigated the young king to expel the Engliſh from BANTAM, and inſiſted that it proceeded naturally from his reſentment of the aſſiſtance which the Engliſh had given his father when beſieging him, until routed by the Dutch forces from Batavia. It was impoſſible at that time to prove the inſtigation by poſitive witneſſes or documents; but the conſequences left no doubt; for they got both kings into their power, confined the father, and kept the young king in ſubjection under their own guards, allowing him indeed a maintenance, with ſome repreſentation, but obliging him to authenticate whatſoever regulations they thought proper to make in the government. The whole kingdom of Bantam was ſenſible of this condition, even whilſt the commiſſaries were diſputing in London, as appears by the relation which father TACHARD the jeſuit has publiſhed, of the embaſſy ſent by LOUIS the XIVth to the king of SIAM. The two ſhips which eſcorted Monſieur de Chaumont*, put into Bantam in Auguſt 1685, and were denied all communication with the ſhore; but acquired ſufficient knowledge to aſcribe the revolution to the ſame arts and motives as were alledged at this very time by the directors of the Engliſh company in

* The embaſſador.

London.

London. The Chevalier FORBIN, in his ingenuous memoirs of his own life, agrees with father Tachard on this ſubject, although on no other concerning the ſplendid and nonſenſical embaſſy in which they were employed. SECT. I.

Nothing is ſaid of the military operations of the revolution, either by Forbin or Tachard; and very little by either of the two companies: but they are amply, although not diſtinctly, related by FRYKE * the ſurgeon, who ſerved through the war, and continued at Bantam eighteen months after it ended. An army of three thouſand Europeans and five thouſand natives marched by land from Batavia, fighting their way, and oppoſed by fortreſſes; whilſt twenty-two ſhips, with many ſmall veſſels, co-operated from the ſea: but the credit of FRYKE's relation is much impaired by his exaggerations of the ſlaughter; for, according to his account, not leſs than forty thouſand Javans were ſlain in the different fights and engagements; of the Europeans with the Dutch, only five hundred.

Fryke has expreſſed his opinion of this revolution with much ſimplicity. After the war, "the Javans," he ſays, could "hardly bear the Hollanders for a great while; and truly

* FRYKE ſailed for Batavia in May 1680, and returned to Holland in Auguſt 1685. His voyage is tranſlated, and publiſhed in London, 1700 (octavo) together with SCHEWITZER's, who went from Holland in the beginning of 1675, and returned in Auguſt 1682. We particularize the terms which the different writers we mention continued abroad, that ſuch of our readers who wiſh to inveſtigate any portions of the hiſtory of India, may know where to ſeek cotemporary authorities.

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" their antipathy againſt us was not wholly without ſome
" grounds; ſeeing that we, being foreigners, had invaded their
" territories, and taken poſſeſſion of all they had, and then
" lorded it over them. They being a very filly ſort of people,
" had no other way to ſhew their ſpite and reſentment, than
" by making mouths at the Dutch as they paſſed by, and
" ſometimes ſpitting upon them—of which they were cured
" by a good box on the ear.

" Admiral TACK was all this while lodged in the apart-
" ment which before belonged to the ENGLISH, where the
" young king uſed to come and viſit him almoſt every day,
" and maintained a faithful friendſhip with him. In a little
" time, things being ſettled, a propoſal was made to the
" young king by the Dutch, that if he would reſign intirely
" all claim of power and juriſdiction over his people, cuſtom,
" &c. they would allow him ſuch a ſum as would enable him
" to keep up his grandeur, and live like a king, (a titular one,
" that is) and would be obliged to pay him ſome thouſands
" of gilders every month. To this he condeſcended, whether
" through fear or indifference I cannot well ſay; and a
" certain penſion was likewiſe ſettled upon his two young
" princes: all which was paid according to agreement. The
" reſt of the nobility and chief of the land remained in poſ-
" ſeſſion of their goods and lands as before, only that they
" were now ſubject to the Dutch government. Thus the
" Dutch compaſſed their whole deſign by force and policy,

" and

" and by fair means became maſters of that kingdom, which " was and had been ſo long flouriſhing, and famous for its " vaſt trade and traffic; and that in ſo little time as from " 1682 to 1685. That I believe hiſtory will hardly afford " an inſtance of a more ſudden change of affairs in ſo great " a kingdom."

Fryke, although a German, had no prejudices againſt the Dutch company, but frequently admires the policy and regularity of their government.

The armament which the Engliſh company prepared to recover Bantam, enabled them afterwards to engage in other wars.

Factors were left at Bantam by Sir James Lancaſter, in the firſt voyage made on the company's account to the Eaſt Indies. He ſailed from Bantam, on his return to England, in February 1603*; but the regular factory, which continued until the expulſion under notice, was eſtabliſhed by captain Keeling, in 1609†.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

AUTHORITIES for the date of the expulſion of the Engliſh from Macaſſar in 1670, are,

1. The treaty between Matzuyher, general of Batavia, with the king of Macaſſar, dated in November 1667; in which treaty the king engageth to expel the Portugueſe, and the Engliſh with them.

* Purchas, in his PILGRIMS, vol. i. page 162. † Idem, page 204.

2. In

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2. In the Juſtification of the Dutch Eaſt India company, printed London 1688, in octavo, p. 46, 47, which Juſtification is dated October the 4th, 1687, they wonder the Engliſh dare to publiſh, that the Engliſh were ſecluded from the commerce of Macaſſar, by a *contract* with thoſe people, as printed at Batavia in November 1667—becauſe all former ſubjects of complaint were given to oblivion by the treaty or agreement of 167⅗, and two treaties before this agreement;—becauſe the Dutch can juſtify to the world their right of making ſuch contracts;—becauſe the contract in queſtion was made during the war with England, or at leaſt before the peace concluded in 1667 was or could be known in the Indies, or at Macaſſar.

And now, ſays the Dutch writer, the Engliſh make complaints (on this ſubject of Macaſſar) eighteen years after.

Eighteen years back from the 4th of October 1687, carries us up to October 1669: allow eighteen to be meant as a general number, we may conclude for the year 1670, as we have ſaid.

BURNET, under the year 1684, mentions the buſineſs of Bantam as follows:—"A quarrel was depending between the Engliſh and the Dutch Eaſt India company. The Dutch had a mind to drive us out of Bantam; for they did not love to ſee the Engliſh ſettle ſo near Batavia. So they engaged the old king of Bantam into a war with his ſon, who was in poſſeſſion of Bantam: and the ſon was ſupported by the Engliſh. But

the

the old king drove out his ſon, by the help that the Dutch gave him; and he drove out the Engliſh likewiſe, as having eſpouſed his ſon's rebellion againſt him; though we underſtood that he had reſigned the kingdom to his ſon, but that by the inſtigation of the Dutch he had now invaded him. It is certain, our court laid up this in their heart, as that upon which they would lay the foundation of a new war with the ſtates, as ſoon as we ſhould be in a condition to undertake it. The Eaſt India company ſaw this, and that the court preſſed them to make public remonſtrances upon it, which gave a jealouſy of an ill deſign under it. So they reſolved to proceed, rather in a very ſlow negociation, than in any thing that might give a handle to a rupture." SECT. I.

Farther on, under the year 1688, Burnet ſays, "I begin the year with Albeville's negociation after his coming to the Hague. He had, before his going over, given in a threatening memorial upon the buſineſs of Bantam, that looked like a prelude to a declaration of war; for he demanded a preſent anſwer, ſince the king could no longer bear the injuſtice done him in that matter, which was ſet forth in very high words. He ſent this memorial to be printed at Amſterdam, before he had communicated it to the ſtates. The chief effect that this had, was, that the actions of the company did ſink for ſome days; but they roſe ſoon again: and by this, it was ſaid, that Albeville himſelf made the greateſt

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greateſt gain. The Eaſt India fleet was then expected home every day; ſo the merchants, who remembered well the buſineſs of the Smirna fleet in the year ſeventy-two, did apprehend that the king had ſent a fleet to intercept them, and that this memorial was intended only to prepare an apology for that breach, when it ſhould happen: but nothing of that ſort followed upon it. The ſtates did anſwer this memorial with another, that was firm, but more decently expreſſed. By their laſt treaty with England it was provided, that in caſe any diſputes ſhould ariſe between the merchants of either ſide, commiſſioners ſhould be named on both ſides, to hear and judge the matter. The king had not yet named any of his ſide; ſo that the delay lay at his door: they were therefore amazed to receive a memorial in ſo high a ſtrain, ſince they had done all that by the treaty was incumbent on them. Albeville after this gave in another memorial, in which he deſired them to ſend over commiſſioners for ending that diſpute. But though this was a great fall from the height in which the former memorial was conceived, yet in this the thing was ſo ill apprehended, that the Dutch had reaſon to believe that the king's miniſters did not know the treaty, or were not at leiſure to read it: for, according to the treaty, and the preſent poſture of that buſineſs, the king was obliged to ſend over commiſſioners to the Hague, to judge of that affair. When this memorial was anſwered, and the treaty was examined, the matter was let fall."

NOTE

NOTE LXXIII.

Page 129, line 6. *Chaeſt Khan.*]—We find, in a Bengal record of the year 1687, that he came into the province as nabob, in the year 1666; he kept his court at Dacca, and by other injuſtices provoked the war of Job Chanock.*

Some account of Job Chanock from Mr. Orme's manuſcript collection.

JOB CHANOCK was appointed by the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, governor of their factory at Golgot near Hughley, where a quarrel aroſe with the king's people, upon a ſoldier's going to buy mutton. As the diſpute ran very high, Job Chanock wrote to Madraſs for a ſtrong reinforcement of men, which was accordingly ſent him. Theſe troops were quartered at a little diſtance in the day-time, and privately drawn into the fort at night, unknown to any but the garriſon. Thus ſtrengthened, Job Chanock meditated revenge, and commenced hoſtilities againſt the king's people, by attacking Abdul Gunnee, the phouſdar of Hughley, who being diſcomfited in the firſt day's fight, fled a conſiderable way, and ſent an account of his proceedings to the king. On receipt of this letter, the king detached twenty-two Jemidars, with a

* See The Military Tranſactions in Indoſtan, vol. ii. page 12.

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great body of horſe and muſketeers, to his aſſiſtance. Upon this junction the phouſdar held a council of war; in conſequence of which the army was divided into two equal parts, one of which was ſtationed at Hughley, and the other ſent to Tillianpurrah near Ghiretty garden, and Tannah fort near Surman's. Theſe parties were furniſhed with iron chains, which they ſtretched acroſs the river, to obſtruct the paſſage of veſſels. Job Chanock, on advice of this ſtep, abandoned the fort, and embarked all the troops, ſtores, and baggage, on board his ſhipping: he himſelf went in a budgerow, ordering his people to fire the villages on both ſides the river. When he came to Tillianpurrah, he broke the chain; and being fired upon by the king's people, from both ſhores, returned it from his fleet, and landed a ſmall body to keep them in play. In this manner he fought his way down to Tannahs fort, where he forced the ſecond chain. Here the king's people halted; and Job Chanock dropt down to Ingelee. A few days after, the Bengal king marched down againſt the ſouthern king. When he reached the ſouthern country, Job Chanock went, attended by Benjah Gungaroo, Beyah Boſeman, and Dr. Chunderſeeker, to prefer a petition to his majeſty, which was delivered by a vacqueel, who had inſtructions to be very loud in his complaints the moment the fleet began to fire, which he was to tell the king was a ſalute in compliment to his majeſty. The king then required what was the purport of his buſineſs; to which he replied, that the Engliſh company

company had ſent Mr. Chanock out as governor of their factory at Golgot, to conduct their trade under his majeſty's protection; but that the nabob and the phouſdar of Hughley had, upon a ſlight diſpute about ſome meat, taken theſe violent meaſures, and driven them down to Ingelee; where, adds the vacqueel, my maſter pays his devoirs to your majeſty by a diſcharge of all his cannon. The king, having heard this ſtory, ordered him to bring his maſter into the royal preſence. The vacqueel having reported the ſubſtance of his conference with the king, and his order for Mr. Chanock's appearing in perſon, Mr. Chanock made the vacqueel a handſome preſent, and ordered his army to attend him to the king, by way of Aſſwaree. Job made a ſalam koornis, or low obeiſance, every ſecond ſtep he advanced, and ſtood with folded arms beſide his majeſty, who promiſed to do him juſtice. At this juncture ſome of the king's people whiſpered him, that his proviſions were quite expended, which Job Chanock obſerving created much uneaſineſs in his majeſty, ordered his people privately to bring an ample ſupply of every kind, from his fleet, which he preſented to the king. This hoſpitable, generous act, ſo won upon his majeſty, that he deſired him to aſk what he had to ſolicit in return. Job replied, the firſt command he requeſted his majeſty to lay upon him, was, to order him to defeat his enemies. The king cheerfully accepting this offer, he quitted the preſence inſtantly, and joining a few of the king's troops with his own, marched

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immediately againſt, and routed the enemy, and then paid his koornis to the king again, who loaded him with preſents, and granted him a perwannah for Calcutta. After this victory the king returned to Delhi, and Job Chanock took poſſeſſion of Calcutta, which, after clearing of the jungles, he fortified. That, or the ſucceeding year, ſome gentlemen came out with a recruit of ſtores and ſoldiers. Job Chanock, upon the arrival of this fleet, ſent the king a very handſome preſent of European things, under charge of his vacqueel, Dr. Chunderſeeker his phyſician, and two or three other gentlemen. When they reached Delhi, they learnt that the king lay ſo dangerouſly ill, that none but his phyſicians were admitted into his preſence. The embaſſadors, conſidering what could, under this dilemma, be done in execution of their commiſſion, determined to wait upon the vizier, who told them, his majeſty was ſorely tormented with caruncles, which his phyſicians could not cure, and that all acceſs had been denied to him on that account. One of the Engliſh gentlemen, who was a phyſician, undertook the taſk, and was conducted by the vizier to the king, whom he made a perfect cure of, to the inexpreſſible joy of the whole court. He was honoured with a genteel gratification, and received a preſent for the company, accompanied with a phirmaund excuſing them from all duties. The embaſſadors, thinking this total exemption from duties might give umbrage to ſome ſucceeding Shah, preferred a petition, deſiring they might pay a quit-

quit-rent, or ſmall annual conſideration, which being agreed to by the king, they returned to Calcutta. SECT. I.

NOTE LXXIV.

Page 138, line 1. *Charles the ſecond.*]—This ſhip was the admiral of the fleet intended againſt Bantam.

NOTE LXXV.

Page 143, line 8. *To make their ablutions at Naſſir Turmeck.*]—*Read* Naſſick Tirmeck. According to our MSS. of the DECAN, TIRMECK is a *purgunnah* or diſtrict of SANGAMNER, which is one of the CIRCARS or governments of the SUBAH or province of AURENGABAD. "The river "GUNGAH comes from the mountains of Concan, on which "Tirmeck is built, and paſſeth through the middle of the "*circar* of Sangamner, to Goulchonabad, commonly called "Naſſick; the diſtance twenty coſs; below which the bed of "the river becomes much broader. Numbers of Hindoos "reſort every year from the moſt diſtant parts, to waſh at "Tirmeck on the day that the ſun enters the Scorpion. Every "twelfth year the multitude is much greater, and ſome come "on every day in every year. The tax levied on theſe pilgrims amounts to a great ſum, and belongs to the kellidar, "or governor, of the fort of Tirmeck. The Hindoos prefer

"this

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" this place for their purifications, becauſe the Gungah has its " ſource here. In the rock out of which it ſprings has been " faſhioned the head of a cow." The ſame has been ſaid by Tamerlane's hiſtorian, of the rock of Toglipoor, where the great Ganges enters Indoſtan.

NOTE LXXVI.

Page 144, line 14. *Gocuck, Hubely, and ſeveral other towns of note, ſurrendered without reſiſtance; and the ſtronger citadel of Darwar with little. From hence he* (Sultan Mauzum) *advanced thirty miles farther to Guduck, which is ſixty from Viziapore.*]—We ſpeak from the letters of the time, written by the Engliſh factory at Carwar to the preſidency of Surat. Hubely is aſcertained in note XXVII, page 208; and we find GOCUCK, DARWAR, and GUDUCK, in our MSS. of the Decan, under the kingdom of Viziapore, in which Bancapore is rated as a circar or government. It ſaith,

" CIRCAR OF BANKAPOUR

" Contains ſixteen purgunnahs: the adjacencies of *Bankapour*, " *Karoli, Lukmir, Kamiran, Goundkoul, Raimouli, Nerengal*, " *Ramali, Angal, Naſurabad or* DARVAR, *Aribara, Mahapour*, " *Baſſerikankona*, GUDUCK, *Tatimal, Mareli.*

" To the eaſt, the woods which the *Tombadra* ſeparates " from the country of *Sera;* to the north, the *purgunnahs* of " *Moudgal*, and *Nourgal;* to the weſt, Azamnagur; to the " ſouth,

" fouth, the circar of Mahammadnagur, through which " paſſeth the river Vardah."

We do not find *Moudgal* either as a purgunnah, or circar of Viziapore, and ſuppoſe the word an error of the copyiſt; but *Nourgal* is a circar of Viziapore, and, as well as part of Azamnagur, ſtretcheth to the north of Bancapore, dividing this from the circar of Raibaug; and under Azamnagur we find COCUCK as a circar, of which the town in queſtion is the head place.

NOTE LXXVII.

Page 145, line 22. *In October* (1685) *he ſent off a body of ſix thouſand horſe from Rairee, which croſſed the Tapti and Nerbeddah, and aſſaulted the city of Broach, within a few hours after their approach was known.*]—We have this from the Engliſh factors in the town, writing in the hour of alarm to the preſidency of Surat.

The territory of BROACH was well able to have maintained the ward of the city, producing at this time, as it had for a century before, more manufactures, and of the fineſt fabricks, than the ſame extent of country in any other part of the empire, not excepting Bengal. Accordingly we find the Engliſh agents reſorting to Broach, as ſoon as they were permitted to have a factory in Surat.

The

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The importance of the company's eſtabliſhment at Surat, having induced us to trace the events by which it was obtained and confirmed, we ſhall give the account apart at the end of this ſection of our Notes.*

The inveſtment for England, provided at Broach, in the year 1683, conſiſted of

17,000 pieces broad baftaes; *viz.*

9,000 white,
4,000 blue, } of the uſual lengths and breadths.

4,000 black, ſuch as the Dutch provided for the Europe markets.

4,000 pieces ſevaguzzies, white.

9,000 pieces baftaes, narrow, white.

4,000 pieces tapſeils, broad.

6,000 pieces niccannees, 13 yards long.

15,000 pieces of Guinea ſtuffs.

55,000 pieces.

NOTE LXXVIII.

Page 147, line 15. *Malquer*]—is not mentioned in any map; but MANOUCHI, from whom alone CATROU can have

* This curious Tract was not finiſhed by the author: what was printed off in his life time, in octavo, but never publiſhed, is reprinted and inſerted at the end of theſe Notes.

taken

taken it, is right. For we find in our MSS. of the Decan, MALKAR as the head place of a circar or government in the province of BEDER, and extending between CALBERGA and GOLCONDAH. We tranſlate SECT I.

" CIRCAR OF MOUZAFERNAGAR.

" This circar, which is more commonly called MALKAR, " has fourteen purgunnahs.

" The adjacencies of *Mouzafernagar*, *Karimour*, *Nergounda*, " *Mangalguin*, *Kaukourni*, *Sindam Konki*, *Sanour*, *Koudouni*, " *Adjouli*, *Ountkour*, *Mankael*, *Doumer*, *Amerdjena*.

" Theſe purgunnahs have one hundred and nine villages, " which give to the treaſury 1,091,196 rupees, 2 annaes ¼.

" To the eaſt of this *circar*, that of GOLCONDAH; to the " north, BEDER (meaning the city); to the weſt, *Kanjouni*, of " the circar of *Naldourouck*, and the circar of KALBERGA; to " the ſouth, the ſoubah of Viziapore*.

" The *Bimra* cometh from the circar of *Naldourouck* into " this circar of MALKAR, and from hence into the ſoubah " of *Viziapore*. The river of *Kakna*, which cometh from " BERAR, and paſſeth near *Kaliani*, enters this circar; " from whence it flows to join the *Bimra*, which afterwards " paſſeth below *Ferouzeabad*, and from thence to the fort " of Bidnour.."

* By which it ſhould ſeem, that both Malkar and Calberga lie to the north of Viziapore.

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We likewiſe find in the account of the next circar of Ferouzgur, which is a fort on a mountain, that MALKAR ſtands twelve coſs to the northward of Ferouzgur.

None of theſe ſubordinate places are in any of the maps hitherto publiſhed; nor can their ſituations be aſcertained with any degree of juſtneſs, from the documents concerning them in the MSS. of the Decan. Mr. D'Anville has not even ventured to give CALBERGA.

NOTE LXXIX.

Page 147, line 19. *Ibrahim Khan.*]—The defection of Ibrahim Khan, related by Manouchi, is confirmed by the letters of the agents at Madraſs; whom he correſponded with, and befriended, when in power at Golcondah; and afterwards endeavoured to do them ſervice with Aurengzebe.

NOTE LXXX.

Page 148, line 16. *The city of Viziapore was extenſive, and capable of ſome defence, and had a citadel of greater ſtrength.*]—The deſcriptions given of Viziapore differ.

Tavernier, who was there in 1648, ſays, "Viziapore is a kind of great village, which has nothing remarkable either in the public edifices or in regard to trade. The palace of the king

king is ſufficiently extenſive, but ill built; nevertheleſs the approach to it is difficult, becauſe the ditches which ſurround it are full of water, and ſtored with crocodiles." SECT. I.

Bernier ſays, "That Viziapore is very ſtrong; but ſituated in a bad dry country, which has ſcarcely any good water, excepting what is within the city."

Baldæus, ſpeaking of the kingdom of Viziapore, ſays, "Its capital city, which bears the ſame name, lies ſeventy "leagues beyond Goa, eighty from Dabul, and is ſaid to be "five leagues in compaſs, with very ſtrong walls, and five noble "gates, on which are mounted above a thouſand braſs and "iron pieces of great cannon. They *tell us*, among theſe "there is one carrying no leſs than five hundred and forty "pounds weight of gunpowder, caſt by a certain Italian, a "native of Rome; who, being queſtioned by one of the "king's commiſſioners concerning the money he had diſ-"burſed on this account, threw him into the ſame hole "where he had caſt the cannon before*."

Mr. Thevenot ſays, "The city of Viziapore is more than "four or five leagues in circumference; it is incloſed by a "double wall, provided with a quantity of cannon; and by "a ditch, a fond de cuve. The palace of the king is in the "*middle of the city;* and it is likewiſe ſurrounded by a ditch "full of water, in which are ſome crocodiles. This city has

* Baldæus, in Churchill's collection, vol. iii. p. 540.

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" ſeveral large ſuburbs, filled with ſhops of goldſmiths and " jewellers; beſides which there is little other trade, and little " elſe to remark."

Neither Bernier, Baldæus, nor Thevenot, had ever been at Viziapore; nor do we know of any perſon now living who has: for the marches of Mr. Buſſy*, when ſerving in the Decan, never came much nearer to it than Calberga: but there may be ſome Portugueſe prieſts who have ſeen it, in their miſſionary journies to and from Goa.

NOTE LXXXI.

Page 150, line 7. *The king of Perſia received him with all the attentions ſuitable to his high birth and fallen eſtate.*]—Kæmpfer, in his Amænitates Exoticæ, ſays, That Ecbar arrived in that part of Arabia bordering on Perſia, in the beginning of the year 1687; and that the governor of Lar had like to have loſt his head, for neglecting to give early intelligence to the king, of Ecbar's arrival; and that Ecbar arrived at Iſpahan on the 24th of January 1688; and that the king went out to meet him near the city, in a ſtyle of magnificence uſual at the reception of ſovereigns.

Gentil ſays, that on the 2nd of April 1686, Aurengzebe received an envoy from his ſon Acbar, who had retired into

* See the map of his marches in the Decan; given to us, and inſerted at page 3 of the Fragments.

Perſia.

Perſia. The envoy offered to Aurengzebe two Perſian horſes, and aſked pardon for his ſon. SECT. I.

NOTE LXXXII.

Page 152, line 2. *Calberga.*]—In our MSS. which is a later arrangement of the Decan, *Calberga* is rated as a government under *Viziapore*, with the following account of it, according to our own tranſlation; for the text is not very clear:

" CIRCAR OF ASSENABAD.

" This circar, which is alſo named KALBERGA, has only " one purgunnah; of the ſame name, KALBERGA; which " contains two hundred and eighty-eight villages: they give " 737, 117 rupees, 13 annaes and ¼ to the treaſury.

" The fortreſs of KALBERGA is in a plain; it is ſurrounded " with good ditches, which may be filled from a neigh- " bouring tank.

" Before the introduction of Mahomedaniſm, the HINDOOS " had within the fortreſs a great temple; which the Muſſul- " men have deſtroyed, and with the materials built a magni- " ficent moſque, which exiſts at this day: it is one of the " largeſt and beſt conſtructed in the Decan. There was " formerly, between the fortreſs and Sultanpour, at two coſs " diſtance, a market, where every thing that could be re- " quired, was ſold: it exiſts no longer, ſince the continual

" troubles

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" troubles which have reigned in the Decan. Without the " fortreſs is the tomb of Shekſeradje, where are ſome houſes. " To the weſt is the quarter of the Bramins, where one " named Kongoy firſt began to build; and in courſe of time, " the Hindoos, by degrees, have fixed their abode here. " Between the fort, and the tomb of a celebrated muſſulman, " has been raiſed a town, to which he has given his name, " Mogdounabad. This pir (or ſaint) was called Mogdoun " Sayed Mahomed Gueſouderage. Towards the end of the " reign of the Sultan Togoul Schah, all the lords of the " Decan, whom he had ſubdued, unable to ſupport or reſiſt " his tyranny, retired to the frontiers, where, having made " ſome eſtabliſhments, they raiſed troops. The moſt conſi- " derable amongſt them was Aſſen Kongoy Bamani, ſur- " named Mouſafir Khan, who firſt got poſſeſſion, not without " good fortune, of Raibague and Maitché*. Theſe ſucceſſes " having increaſed his forces, he advanced againſt KAL- " BERGA; and having killed the governor (who held it " for Togoul Schah) in a ſkirmiſh, the place ſurrendered to " him. On which all the fugitive lords united their forces, " recovered the Decan, and acknowledged Aſſen Kongoy " Bamani their ſovereign, with the title of Sultan Alaoudin. " And this prince, the firſt of the Bamanis, gave the " name of ASSENABAD to KALBERGA, which he rendered " flouriſhing, and made his capital in the year 748 of the

* Perhaps Mirdsjé. See the map.

" Hegira,

" Hegira, A. C. 1347. Magdoun Sayed Mahomed Gueſou- SECT.
" derage, the famous ſaint, came from the Indus to Kalberga, I.
" in the year 915 of the Hegira, A. C. 1544, in the time of
" Firouz Schah Bamani, and had the addreſs to engage the bro-
" ther of this prince to become his diſciple, and build him a
" fine houſe. The Sultan Firouz Schah, from affection to his
" ſon, was deſirous of reſigning the crown to him, and con-
" ſulted Mogdoun, who adviſed him to give it to his bro-
" ther, Ahmed Schah, as much more capable of governing
" the kingdom; to which the Sultan replied, that this counſel
" was the price of the houſe, and the effect of his deſire to
" have a king devoted to himſelf. Mogdoun, ſtung by the
" reproach, quitted the houſe, and came to dwell where his
" tomb now ſtands. After the death of Firouz Schah, his
" brother Ahmed Schah ſucceeded to the throne, when the
" houſe of Mogdoun became ſo much reſorted to, that by
" degrees a town was built about it; which is the Mogdou-
" nabad above mentioned. The credit of Mogdoun became
" ſo great under Ahmed Schah, who had been, and conti-
" nued to profeſs himſelf his diſciple, that from the lord to
" the artificer, all made it their glory to inliſt themſelves
" under his inſtruction. Nothing was done without him.
" After his death, Ahmed Schah came to *Beder*, and made
" this city his capital. The *Bimra* paſſeth within ſix coſs
" of *Kalberga*.

" To

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" To the EAST of KALBERGA, *Ferouzegara;* to the NORTH, " *Kandjoli,* a purgunnah of *Naldourouck;* to the WEST, the " fort of *Naldourouck;* to the SOUTH, the fort of *Sakkar,* " upon a mountain dependant on Naldourouck, where " paſſeth the *Bimra.*"

From KALBERGA,

To the fort of *Sakkar* twenty coſs.

To *Naldourouck,* S. W. twenty-four coſs.

To *Angouſteri,* E. twenty coſs.

To *Peſgouri Metkal,* E. thirty coſs.

To the purgunnah of *Balgui;* N. E. twenty-four coſs.

To *Valemgarah,* thirty coſs.

To BEDER, thirty coſs.

To KALIANI, twenty coſs.

To the purgunnah of *Kandjoli,* twenty coſs.

To the purgunnah of *Tchit Koka,* twenty coſs.

NOTE LXXXIII.

Page 153, line 22. *It was on the 27th of September.*]—No account has hitherto aſcertained the time when Golcondah was taken by the Mogul's army; there have been doubts even of the year. But it is aſcertained by a letter to Mr. Yale, the governor of Madraſs, from Ahadaed Caun, and Wallcdaed Caun, two officers of Golcondah in the Conjeveram country. This letter is dated the 15th of October 1687,

and ſays, "*We are informed this day, that the Mogul took* SECT. I.
" *Golcondah eighteen days ſince,* and that the Mogul has
" given the Carnatic country government to Mahomed
" Ebrahim, who is coming down to poſſeſs himſelf of it."
This Mahomed Ebrahim is the Ibrahim Khan mentioned
before in Note LXXIX, page 290.

NOTE LXXXIV.

Page 154, line 21. *We formerly placed this Revolution in* 1680.]—In the hiſtory of the military tranſactions, firſt publiſhed in the year 1763, we have ſaid,

" In the year 1680, the king of Tanjore, attacked and well
" nigh overpowered by the king of Tritchinopoly, called the
" Morattoes to his aſſiſtance. The famous Sevagee, who at
" that time reigned over all the Morattoe nations, ſent his
" brother with a ſtrong army, which ſoon left the king of
" Tanjore nothing to fear from his enemy, but every thing
" from theſe free-booters; for they made out ſo large an
" account of expences, that all the riches in the kingdom
" would have been inſufficient to diſcharge what they de-
" manded. Under pretence therefore of collecting this mo-
" ney, they took poſſeſſion of the government; and ſhortly
" after, the brother of Sevagee declared himſelf king of Tan-
" jore. He reigned *ſix years*, and left three ſons."*

* See The Military Tranſactions in Indoſtan, vol. i. page 108. of the fourth edition, 1803.

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We received this information from a perſon who was concerned in the expedition undertaken in favour of a pretender, by Fort St. David, againſt the king of Tanjore, in 1749. But our later reſearches leave us no right to think that Eccogi entered Tanjore in 1680. And at whatſoever time he made the conqueſt, it appears doubtful whether he was acting as a member or officer of the Morattoe government.

The objection, which firſt and immediately occurs to the date of 1680, is the death of Sevagi, which happened in the early part of this very year*; and the perplexity which enſued, and continued for a while, in the Morattoe government, in conſequence of this event, ſeems ſufficient to have ſtopped the proſecution of an expedition of ſuch importance as Eccogi's, whatſoever arrangements might have been made to promote it before Sevagi died. Nevertheleſs, this objection, if unſupported by others, would not alone confute the date in queſtion.

We have no cotemporary records during the period, in which even their ſilence on the revolution of Eccogi would have been preſumptive evidence that he was not acting in the Tanjore country during the year 1680: for although the company's agents at this time troubled themſelves very little with enquiries which did not immediately concern the intereſts of their commerce and ſettlements, yet theſe attentions were ſometimes affected by the general events of the country, which accordingly received mention in their corre-

* See page 90, and note LIX.

ſpondence

ſpondence with the natives, their own ſervants, and other Europeans. * When Mr. Elihu Yale was ſent, in December 1681, to treat with Hargee Rajah for a ſettlement at Cuddalore, he went firſt to Porto Novo, in order to ſettle the terms of his reception, and the preſents he was to make at Gingee; and the council of Madraſs write to him, December the 28th, complaining that the preſents expected were intolerable; and permit him, in conſequence of a ſuggeſtion from himſelf, to treat with the agent of THE NAIGUE OF TANJORE (who ſeems to have been at Porto Novo) for a ſettlement at Trimliwaſh, which is in the Tanjore country.

This ſingle expreſſion of "THE NAIGUE," is almoſt ſufficient to determine us, that ECCOGI was not at this time the ruler of the country.

The three great Naigues of Çoromandel, under the ancient Gentoo ſovereignty, whether of Biſnagar or Chandergherri, were Gingee, Tanjore, and Madura. After the conqueſt of Gingee by Viziapore, about 1655, the rulers of Tanjore and Madura retained their titles of Naigue; which, although meaning a lieutenant, will not decide the degree of their dependance on Viziapore, becauſe they had long retained it with very little, on the Gentoo ſovereignty of Chandergherri, and Biſnagar.

The Viziapore governor of Gingee was ſtiled the CAWN. Harji Rajah, appointed by Sevagi, after he conquered Gingee in 1677, is ſtiled, when ſpoken of, the GREAT SUBADAR, and

* See Fragments, page 115.

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assumes the eminent title of MAHA RAJAH, to which he had no right, nor could use to his superior Sevagi, or his successor Sambagi. We see the ruler of Tanjore, in 1681, called THE NAIGUE. It is not probable that ECCOGI, the brother of Sevagi, should, after he had obtained the government or sovereignty of Tanjore, have admitted, or have been designated by, a title so inferior in phrase to that which had been assumed by an officer of his brother Sevagi. However, admitting the contrary, December 1681 presseth so close upon the conquest of 1680, that we must suppose he would at that time have been distinguished by some epithet, significant of the lateness of his accession to the government, instead of being simply called *The Naigue*, as if he were the ruler of the ancient line, whom he had just dispossessed.

We have likewise said, as in the extract above cited, that he reigned *six years*; but his reign must have extended longer, if he were the NAIGUE OF TANJORE, with whom Mr. Yale wished to treat for Trimliwash, in December 1681: for we find him alive, from an authentic record, in September 1688.

We therefore relinquish our position of 1680, but are yet to seek the time of his death, as well as of his accession to the government of Tanjore, and the nature of his tenure.

A late publication*, supplied with documents out of our reach, saith,

* The History and Management of the East India company. London, 1779, quarto.

" *Some*

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" *Some time after the reduction of Bijapour* (commonly called " Viziapore) ONE Ecko-ji, and other Marrattas, ſervants to " the dethroned king, fled, with a few troops, from the per- " ſecution of the Moguls, and *eſtabliſhed* themſelves at Gingee, " in the Carnatic. Some differences ſubſiſting at that time " between Wagira, the Naig of Tanjore, and Trimul, Naig " of Madura and Tritchinopoly, the former applied to " Ecko-ji for aſſiſtance; but the treacherous Maratta ſeized " the government he had been called to defend. The " unfortunate Wagira was forced to fly, and take refuge in " Seringapatam, the capital of *Myſore**. This revolution " in the government of Tanjore, happened about the year " 1696†.

" Ecko-ji, not content with his acquiſition of Tanjore, " began to extend his territories, and to give aſſiſtance to " *rebels*, though he owned himſelf its ſubject. His death, " which happened about the year 1702, transferred the ven- " geance prepared for him by the Moguls, to his ſon, and " ſucceſſor, Shaw-ji, or Suhu-ji," &c.

The notes which accompany the portion we have extracted, are,

* to *Myſore*.]—" Wagira had a ſon, Chimgul Muldaſs, whoſe ſon, the grandſon of Wagira, the expelled Naig, is ſtill living in or near Seringapatam."

† to 1696.]—"Authentic MSS. account of Tanjore, taken on the ſpot, and now in the hands of the author of this diſquiſition, &c. Culnamma of Zulfacar Caun. Nabob's papers, vol. i. page 41."

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The date of 1696, aſcribed to the revolution, muſt be an overſight.

Shah-Gi * was the father of Sambagi, ECCOGI, and the famous SEVAGI: all had employment under the government of Viziapore, in which Sambagi and Eccogi continued after the revolt of their brother. What became of Sambagi, we have not learnt; but admit, that ECCOGI remained in the ſervice of Viziapore, if not until the fall, at leaſt until he deſpaired of the kingdom.

The city of Viziapore was taken, at the earlieſt, in June 1686; the king, perhaps, a month or two after. We have a letter from Madraſs to Cuddalore, which ſhews that Eccogi was conſidered as the ruler of Tanjore, in September 1687. It is the firſt and only mention we find of him in this year; for, although we have not the letters received before July, we have the letters written by Madraſs from the beginning of the year. Hence it follows, that if ECCOGI came to Gingee *ſome time after the reduction of Viziapore*, the revolution by which he acquired Tanjore muſt have been accompliſhed in the ſpace of ſix or ſeven months at moſt; which however might be, if there were much treachery, and little reſiſtance.

That Eccogi ſhould have brought with him a body of Morattoe troops, is not improbable; for being a Hindoo, the troops of his command in the ſervice of Viziapore, were, in all likelihood, of the ſame diſtinction; and no where nearer

* Saow, according to M. Gentil's MS. in French. See pp. 170 & 171.

to

to make his levies, than in the countries which ſpoke the Morattoe language; not that we ſuppoſe they were of the ſame hardineſs and activity as the cavalry of the Morattoe government, eſtabliſhed by Sevagi.

That Eccogi, with his Morattoes, ſhould have *eſtabliſhed* themſelves (in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word) at Gingee, is impoſſible; for we find Hargi Rajah, Sambagi's vicegerent, governing there with as full authority, in the beginning of 1687, as when Mr. Yale was ſent to treat with him for a factory at Cuddalore, at the end of 1681.

We have little of Madraſs during the interval between 1681 and the beginning of 1687, or might otherwiſe have diſcovered this dubious date of Eccogi's expedition into Tanjore; but if conjecture might be ſubſtituted to the defect of record, it would be no improbable account to ſuppoſe, that

" SAMBAGI, the ſon of SEVAGI, and his ſucceſſor in the " ſovereignty of the Morattoe ſtate, was in correſpondence " with his uncle ECCOGI; who, inſtead of waiting, as is ſaid, " until *ſome time after the reduction of Viziapore*, went off, as " ſeveral other commanders did, before the city was inveſted, " and came with recommendations from his nephew, to " Hargi Rajah, at Gingee; who accordingly permitted him " to advance, and encamp near the fortreſs, and accommo- " dated him in other reſpects. This reception, at the diſ-

" tance

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" tance of a century, may have been miſtaken, by curſory " enquiry, for an eſtabliſhment made by ECCOGI at Gingee. " The reſt naturally follows. The war exiſting on the other " ſide of the Coleroon, found employment for ECCOGI; who, " ſucceſsful againſt Tritchinopoly, ſeized the government of " Tanjore." All this might have happened in the latter half of 1685, and the firſt of 1686.

By the *rebels* whom Eccogi aſſiſted after *his acquiſition of Tanjore*, we ſuppoſe are meant the Morattoes of Gingee; and we were ſurprized not to find this confederacy as ſoon as the Mogul troops began to approach the Carnatic; but, until the end of 1688, neither Eccogi nor any officer ſeeming to belong to him, appears taking any part in the hoſtilities we have mentioned. They may afterwards; and ſhould we find them ſo acting, will give ſome light to two or three years of obſcurity.

The death of Eccogi, imputed to 1702, is another overſight. For in the ſame publication, his ſucceſſor, Suhuji, appears reigning in 1695. We remark, that the two miſtaken dates of 1696 and 1702, aſcribed to the acceſſion and death of Eccogi, give the *ſix years* which we formerly allotted to the extent of his reign.

We admire, that in a diſpute of ſuch importance as that which has been lately agitated between the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, no regular hiſtory has been pro-

duced of this country, from the acceſſion of ECCOGI, who is the anceſtor of the preſent RAJAH; not even the dates of death in the ſucceſſion, nor of the hoſtilities, whether in the family or with their neighbours; their acknowledgments or reſiſtance of the Mogul government. All that is neceſſary to know in Europe, if dates are given, might be compoſed in a few pages. The public acts, agreements, and treaties, would be mere tranſlations; and, for obvious reaſons, ought not to be preſented in any other form. SECT. I.

NOTE LXXXV.

Page 162, line 11. *Cablis Cawn.*]—His name occurs variouſly ſpelt. In the letter which SAMBAGI wrote to Keigwin, on concluding the treaty which adjuſted the terms of trade and intercourſe between his weſtern country and Bombay, and confirmed the company's trade and factories in the Gingee country, he ſays, "You ſhall alſo take notice what ſhall be "written to you by *my loving and faithful* Cavy Callas;" unuſual terms in the ſtile, either of the Mahomedan or Hindoo princes, unleſs when ſpeaking of their ſons or brothers: the epithets which they give to their officers are generally expreſſive of the ſuperiority of their dignity over others, and ſubſervience to themſelves.

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Page 162, line 22. *In the month of June.*]—An abſtract is preſerved of the letter written by the government of Madraſs to the company, on the 20th of July 1689, in which no mention is made of Sambagi's death. The next letter is dated Auguſt 27th; and the abſtract ſays, "Have news from the "Moors camp (in the Carnatic); their forces had ſurprized "SAMBAGEE, brought him priſoner to the MOGUL: was "mounted on a camel, his eyes put out, and beheaded; his "quarters diſperſed as a traitor." Allowing more than twenty days for the coming of the news, Sambagi might have been taken at the end of June; if leſs, in the beginning of July. The letter of the 27th of Auguſt gives no intimation how long the news had been received at Madraſs; ſo that the event might have happened in the end of July.* The circumſcription to the interval of a month or ſix weeks, may aſſiſt inquiry to aſcertain the real date, which we hope will be done.

Death of Aurengzebe.]—In February 1707, Aurengzebe died at Ahmednagur, in the Decan, three hundred and forty miles from Delhi. His will, which was made publick, ſeemed

* Mr. Gentil makes it January 11th, 1690.

to

to ſignify, although equivocally, that his ſon Mahomed Mauzum, who was at Cabul, ſhould have Delhi, and the northern provinces; and his ſon Azim, who was with himſelf in the Decan, Agra, and the countries to the ſouth. Both aſſerted the whole empire; the conteſt was decided a few months after, by a pitched battle fought near Agra with prodigious numbers on both ſides.

The two armies met at the river Chumbul, which Mauzum had placed in his rear; and never did two ſuch mighty hoſts appear in ſight of each other. A liſt of Mauzum's has been publiſhed: it conſiſted of one hundred and ſeventy thouſand horſe, and one hundred and ſeventy thouſand foot, three thouſand elephants, and two thouſand pieces of cannon. The army of Azim is ſaid to have been little inferior. Such numbers appear improbable; but the two princes ſhared between them the collected force of the whole empire, as far as it extended at the time when Aurengzebe entered the Decan; and with the followers and attendants the multitude muſt have exceeded a million.

The battle was fought on the 9th of June 1707, and maintained with an obſtinacy equal to the importance of the conteſt; for as the two princes fought for the empire, ſo did their followers for their own fortunes. All the great Omrahs who had ſerved under Aurengzebe, diſplayed their ſtandards in the line of Mahomed Azim. Many of them fell. The com-

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mander of the artillery, and Buxey, or paymaſter-general, and the names of ſeven others, are mentioned. The two elder ſons of Mahomed Azim were likewiſe ſlain, and the two others were taken priſoners. Nevertheleſs Azim ſtood his ground, until he was left with only ſix thouſand horſe, which were ſurrounded by ten times their number; when, to avoid the inflictions of captivity, and the remembrance of this fatal day, he ſtabbed himſelf to the heart with his poignard.

No victory could be more deciſive. Mahomed Mauzum immediately ſat on the throne, and was proclaimed with the name of Bahadar Shah, or the Victorious King, which he had taken before he left Cabul. He does not ſeem to have diſgraced his ſucceſs by any ſubſequent acts of cruelty or revenge.

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ORIGIN

OF THE

ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT,

AND OF THE

COMPANY'S TRADE,

AT

BROACH, AND AT *SURAT*.

ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE

ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

THE firſt Engliſh ſhip which came to Surat, was the Hector, commanded by captain William Hawkins; who brought a letter from the company, and another from the king, James the firſt, to the great Mogul Jehangire, requeſting the intercourſe of trade.

The Hector arrived at Surat in Auguſt 1608, but as in a voyage of experiment; the contingency of ill ſucceſs at this port was provided for, by a farther deſtination of the ſhip to Bantam; to which ſeveral voyages had already been made, with ſufficient encouragement to continue the reſort. 1608. *Aug.*

At this time the Portugueſe marine predominated on the weſtern ſeas of India, in ſo much that they made prize of all veſſels which had not taken their paſs; and the fear of their reſentment on the ſhips which traded from Surat to the gulphs of Arabia and Perſia, deterred the Mogul's officers from giving the encouragement they might wiſh, to the Engliſh ſtrangers. They, however, permitted Hawkins to land his lead and iron, with ſome treaſure; but obliged him

1608. to buy and ſell with much delay and diſadvantage. In
Sept. September the northern armada of the Portugueſe, conſiſting of forty ſail of grabs and gallivats, came into the road, threatening to burn the city and all its veſſels, if the Engliſh ſhip, and all that belonged to her, were not ſent away. Hawkins haſtened her diſpatch, but not equal to the impatience of the Portugueſe, who ſeized his longboat, with goods to a conſiderable amount, and twenty-ſeven men, whom they kept priſoners; but did not venture to attack
Octob. the ſhip, which ſailed a few days after, on the 5th of October, for Bantam.

Notwithſtanding the menaces of the Portugueſe, the government of Surat dared not diſobey the Mogul's order, that Hawkins ſhould repair to his court. He ſet out for
1609. Agra on the 1ſt of February 1609, travelling in continual fear
Feb. of poiſon or aſſaſſination from his attendants, at the inſtigation of the Portugueſe, whoſe jealouſy followed all his ſteps. He left behind him William Finch, with three or four Engliſh domeſtics, to ſell the remainder of what goods had been landed; whom the favourable reception of Hawkins at the Mogul's court preſerved from open, but not from ſecret vexations; for Mocrib Caun, the governor, retained his terrors, and perhaps the bribes of the Portugueſe.

Sept. In September*, the Aſcenſion, coming to Surat, was wrecked at Gundavie. This ſhip had left England in

* The 5th.

March

March 1608, a month before the Hector, which had brought captain Hawkins; but came laſt from Mocha, and was the firſt Engliſh ſhip which had ever entered the gulph of Arabia. Her crew, ſeventy-five men, travelled to Surat, where they were not permitted to enter the city, but Finch to maintain them in a neighbouring village. In January 1610, Finch went to Agra, on the ſummons of Hawkins, and from thence came over land, by Lahore and Perſia, to England. 1610. *Jan.*

Sir Henry Middleton, after his captivity, eſcape, and reprifals at Mocha, arrived with his three ſhips at Surat, on the 26th of September 1611. The northern armada of the Portugueſe were ready ſtationed at the bar, and within the river, to prevent the intercourſe of his boats with the city, in which no Engliſhmen, excepting Bangham, a joiner, who had lately returned from captain Hawkins, was remaining, all who had been ſaved from the Aſcenſion having diſperſed, moſt to get livelihood as ſoldiers in the country; but the few of better condition, with the captain, Sharpeigh, had repaired to Hawkins, at Agra, who ſeems to have been much fitter to fight the Portugueſe at ſea, than to counteract their intrigues at the Mogul's court, where they had jeſuits of great ſubtlety. He accepted a wife, who however was a chriſtian and a maiden, out of the Mogul's ſeraglio, and his ſervice, with a penſion, which was very ill paid; ſtill retaining his pretenſion to the character he had aſſumed of an embaſſador from the king of England. He received frequent aſſurances of the 1611. *Sept.*

1611. privileges he ſolicited for the company's trade; which were conſtantly retracted without apology. Even Mocrib Caun had been ſummoned to court, to be puniſhed, on his complaint; but returned to Surat with greater power. At length Hawkins loſt hope, and began to think of nothing elſe but his return to England; when the relations of his wife, ſet on by the jeſuits, forbad her departure off the ſhore of India; and Hawkins agreed with the ſame jeſuits to procure a paſſage for them both at Goa. Fortunately, at this time news came to Agra of the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton at Surat; when Hawkins formally demanded his diſmiſſion from the Mogul, and requeſted an anſwer to the letter he had brought from the king, which was denied; but he was permitted to depart, and arrived at Cambay on the 11th of
Decem. December 1611, accompanied by the brothers of his wife, to prevent him from carrying her farther. Captain Sharpeigh, and what other Engliſhmen had joined him at Agra, had gone before, and came to Cambay ſoon after Sir Henry Middleton arrived at Surat.

In the mean time Sir Henry Middleton, apprized by Bangham of the evil intentions of the government of Surat; either from their own inclination, or dread of the Portugueſe; ſeized three ſhips which belonged to the town, and were riding in the road, and refuſed to releaſe them until he had received all the Engliſhmen he expected. This exertion produced compliments, proviſions, and promiſes of trade:

but, as his communication was on the open beach, the Portugueſe landed the ſoldiers of their armada, who ſeveral times attempted to ſurpriſe his people, but never riſqued themſelves ſufficiently to hurt a ſingle man. Bangham eſcaped from Surat, and all the others from Cambay, excepting Hawkins, who was not yet arrived there. Mocrib Caun, and other officers, came to the ſhore, viſited the ſhips, made bargains, and cheated at the ſcales; which Middleton endured, ſtill fearing harm to Hawkins, who, procuring two jeſuits on miſſion at Cambay, to be ſureties for the ſurrender of his wife, prevailed on her brothers to return to Agra; and then, by ſome ſcheme not explained, but ſuggeſted by Middleton, eſcaped with her, met eſcort, and arrived ſafely at the ſhips on the 26th of January 1612. 1611. 1612. Jan.

The accounts of dealing, which were to no great amount, had already been ſettled with the chapmen of Surat; and whilſt Sir Henry was preparing to depart, Mocrib Caun, contrary to his former promiſes of a factory, peremptorily ordered the agent in the town to be gone, pretending the Mogul's order, that the Engliſh ſhould have neither trade nor factory there.

The ſhips ſailed from the road of Swally on the 9th of February, and coaſted down to Dabul, which at this time belonged to the king of Viziapore, and was governed by a Siddee, whoſe ſhip they had ſtopped the year before in the Red Sea; which, with the report of their late conduct at Surat, procured them a reſpectful reception, and ſome trade; during Feb.

1612. which, they ſtopped and examined two merchant ſhips belonging to the Portugueſe, and diſmiſſed them without injury.

On his departure from Dabul, Sir Henry Middleton ſummoned his council, to deliberate on what he had long before determined, but kept ſecret in his own mind. On leaving Mocha, he had agreed not to revive any claim for the injuries he had ſuſtained from this government, if his confiſcated goods, or their value, were reſtored, and the ſum of 18,000 dollars paid as a compenſation for damages. The governor reſtored the goods, but obliged the merchants of the Indian ſhips, which Sir Henry had ſtopped on his eſcape, to pay the money; which Sir Henry ſeems to have regarded as a breach of the treaty, but ought therefore to have refuſed the benefit. He now propoſed to return to the Red ſea, and ſeize all the ſhips coming from the coaſts of India to Mocha. The ranſom of the ſhips from the Mogul's country, was to compenſate the injuries he had lately received at Surat. The withholding of the cuſtoms on the others, would oblige the government of Mocha to make full reſtitution for their iniquities in the preceding year. Few ſchemes have been formed with greater probability of ſucceſs. The ſhips ſailed from Dabul
March. on the 5th of March, and arrived at Socatra on the 26th, where they received information that three ſhips from England had paſſed into the gulph, under the command of captain Saris*. Middleton, however, kept at the entrance,

* Afterwards famous for the voyage to Japan, on which he proceeded after he left the Red ſea.

and

and in thirty-ſeven days, from the 3d of April to the 10th of May, ſtopped and detained fifteen ſhips coming from the coaſts of India, beſides ſmaller veſſels of the Arabian ſhores, not ſubject to the Turks, which they diſmiſſed. Of the ſhips, nine were from the Mogul's ports of Sindy; Diul, and Surat, three from each; from Dabul, two; one from Barcelore; two from Callicut; and one from Cananore. Beſides theſe, two other ſhips of value, one from Chaul, the other from Cananore, got into the ſtreights before Middleton, and unloaded at Mocha whilſt Saris was there. The Rehemy* of Surat was of 1500 tons, had on board, it is ſaid, 1500 ſouls, and belonged to the Mogul's mother, whoſe devotion had built and maintained this ſhip for the accommodation of pilgrims to Mecca; moſt of whom, as in all the other ſhips, carried adventures of trade. The Mahmoodie of Dabul was of 1200 tons burthen. 1612. *April. May.*

The offenſive governor of Mocha had been removed, and his ſucceſſor, in obedience to orders from the Baſha of Senaar,

* Saris, in his journal, ſays, "The ninth of May 1612, I cauſed the *Indian* "ſhips to be meaſured, which were found to be of the ſcantlings following; "*viz.* the *Rehemy* was long, from ſterne *(ſtem, perhaps)* to ſterne poſt, an hun- "dred three and fiftie foot; for rake from the poſt aft, ſeventeene foot; from "the top of her ſides in breadth, two and fortie; her depth, one and thirtie. *May.*

"The *Mahomedee* in length, an hundred ſix and thirtie foot; her rake aft, "twentie. In bredth one and fortie; in depth nine and twentie and an halfe. "Her main maſt in length was ſix and thirtie yards, an hundred and eight; her "main yard four and fortie yards, an hundred two and thirtie.

"The other were not much leſſe." In this is ſome miſtake, for none of the other ſhips are deſcribed as above five hundred tons.

had

1612. had treated captain Saris with courteſy, although not unſuſpected of treachery, before the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton; who, releaſing three, kept the other twelve ſhips of India at Aſſab on the oppoſite ſhore, and demanded 100,000 dollars of the government of Mocha, as a compenſation for the injuries of the preceding year. A negotiation enſued, and was continued by various inventions of delay; during which the Engliſh ſhips bartered commodities to a conſiderable amount with their prizes, and took no advantage of their conſtraint in the bargains. At length Middleton, finding that he had nothing to expect from Mocha, ſignified to his prizes that they muſt accompany him out of the gulph; by which they would loſe a year in the ſale of their cargoes; and this impending detriment induced them to ſatisfy him by an aſſeſſment, of which neither the amount, nor the ſhips which contributed to it, are diſtinctly aſcertained*; but the ſhare of the Rehemy was 15,000 dollars. All reckonings and pay-
Aug. ments were finiſhed by the 12th of Auguſt; and by the 17th,

* Captain Nicholas Downton, who commanded the Pepper-corn, one of Sir Henry Middleton's ſhips, ſays in his journal, as publiſhed in Purchas, Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 309.—"*May the 26th*——And to begin withal, compoſition was this "day made with Meere Mahumet Tuckey, Nohuda (ſupra cargo) of the "*Rehemy*, for fifteene thouſand rials of eight, ſhe being in value near equal to "the *other foure ſhips*;" which four ſhips are not enumerated either in this or the other journals. It is from hence, we ſuppoſe, that Purchas in his RELATIONS, which is a diſtinct work from his Pilgrims, ſays (page 525) "they "had money of theſe ſhips ſome 32,000 rials of eight, whereof the Rehemee "paid 15,000." Nevertheleſs Purchas had other opportunities of knowing, being perſonally acquainted with officers who ſerved in the voyage.

all

all the Engliſh ſhips were out of the gulph, bound to Bantam; 1612.
from whence, ſome to Europe, others on farther voyages to the eaſtward.

The news of theſe proceedings at Mocha had not reached Surat, when two of the company's ſhips, directly from England, arrived there on the 5th of September, under the *Sept.* conduct of captain Beſt. The Dragon, which he commanded, was large, but the Oſiander very ſmall. The factors who went up to the town, were well received by the officers of the government; and no reaſon is aſſigned for this change of their behaviour. A few days after*, ſixteen Portugueſe frigates put into the river, in order to ſtop the communication, and took a purſer, with another Engliſhman, either coming or going to the town, and it ſhould ſeem with goods; on which captain Beſt, on the 30th of September, ſecured a large Guzerat ſhip, probably one of thoſe juſt returned from the ſame durance at Mocha, and declared that he ſhould not releaſe her until he had received his men on ſhore, and the value of the goods, which he had landed on invitation; for which he allowed five days. On the 6th of *Octob.* October, the governor Medi Jaffeir, accompanied by four principal men, and many others, came on board the Dragon, and brought a great preſent, intreating the releaſe of the Guzerat ſhip, and the continuance of trade; on which captain Beſt removed from the bar of Surat to the road of Swally, as

* The 13th of September.

having

1612. having a better beach, and with ſafer communication to the town by land; for the Portugueſe frigates infeſted the banks of the river. The principal merchant ſaid, that Surat muſt burn all its ſhips, if friendſhip were not maintained with the Engliſh: and on ſuch repreſentation, Sheik Suffee, the governor of Ahmedabad, came down to Swally on the 17th, and gave pledges; on which captain Beſt went aſhore, and in two days ſettled a treaty; of which the firſt article is thus expreſſed: "Imprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henrie "Middleton be remitted, acquitted, and cleared to us; that "they ſhall never make ſeizure, ſtoppage, nor ſtay of our "goods, wares, and merchandizes, to ſatisfye for the ſame." By the 2d, a confirmation of all the articles now agreed to, was to be obtained under the ſeal of the great MOGUL within forty days. By the 3d, an embaſſador *for* the king of England to reſide at the Mogul's court. The 4th, That on the arrival of the company's ſhips at Swally, proclamation be made in Surat, three ſeveral days ſucceſſively, that the people of the country may freely come and trade with the Engliſh at the water ſide.—5th, All Engliſh commodities to pay a duty of three and a half *per cent.* 6th, But petty wares, above ten dollars, to be free of cuſtom. The 7th ſettles the rate and mode of carriage between Swally and the city. The 8th releaſes the effects of Engliſh ſubjects dying in the Mogul's dominions from forfeiture or claim. And by the 9th, it is provided, that if all the Engliſh left on ſhore ſhould

die

die in the interval between the departure and arrival of the company's ſhips, the government of Surat ſhould ſee that their effects were faithfully collected and preſerved, and deliver them to the firſt captains which ſhould arrive. 10th, All men and goods which may be taken by the Portugueſe, to be recovered by the government, and reſtored without charge. The 11th, exempts the trade and *factory* from reſponſibility for the robberies of Engliſh pirates. The 12th, No proviſions, except exceeding one thouſand dollars, to pay cuſtoms. And by the 13th, That in all queſtions of wrongs and injuries done to the Engliſh nation, juſtice be rendered without delay, or exorbitant charge. 1612.

The ſcope of theſe articles provided ſufficiently for the ſecurity of a *firſt* eſtabliſhment. They were ſigned on the 21ſt of October, when captain Beſt delivered the governor of Ahmedabad a coſtly preſent from the company, which he well deſerved; and ſhewed him the preſent intended for the Mogul, which he ſent back to the ſhip, to wait the confirmation of the articles. *October.*

In the mean time factors reſorted to Surat, where they diſcovered that the maſter of the cuſtoms, whoſe authority was ſecond only to the governor's, befriended the Portugueſe; and ſoon after, that a fleet was coming from Goa, to drive away the Engliſh ſhips.

The Portugueſe fleet conſiſted of four gallions, and more than twenty frigates. The admiral of the gallions mounted

1612. thirty-eight guns; the three others, twenty-eight and thirty. The frigates had no cannon, but ſeemed intended for boarding, and the ſervices of ſhoal water. This fleet appeared off the *Octob.* bar of Surat on the 28th of October; and being joined by the frigates in the river, the number of this craft amounted to forty ſail.

The next day captain Beſt bore down from the road of Swally, and engaged the vice-admiral, ſeparated by the tide and ſands from the others. A ſhot from her ſunk his long-boat, another wounded his mainmaſt. The day after, he engaged all the four; and three of them, either from ignorance or confuſion, grounded on the ſands, where they would have overſet, if the frigates had not ſhored them up with their yards until the tide and farther aſſiſtance got them afloat again. On the 31ſt the fight was renewed; and at night, a frigate, prepared as a fire-ſhip, bore down on the Dragon; which diſcovered her in time, and ſunk her. Eighty dead bodies floated to the ſhore. Of the Engliſh, only two were killed in the three fights.

The four ſucceeding days paſſed without action, in the repair of tackle; when captain Beſt, not doubting that the Portugueſe would follow him, reſolved to try them in an *Novemb.* opener ſea; and croſſing the gulph, anchored on the 9th at Madrafabad, which at this time was inveſted by an army of the Mogul's. From hence he continued cruizing along the ſhores on each hand, in order to learn the ſoundings; during

which

which he received ſeveral invitations from the general of the army; who ſending pledges, captain Beſt went aſhore on the 21ſt to his camp, and was much intreated by him to aſſiſt in the ſiege with two pieces of cannon; but refuſed: nevertheleſs preſents were exchanged, and he was diſmiſſed with civility. 1612.

The next day, which was the 22d, the four Portugueſe gallions appeared, and at night anchored within ſhot. Early in the morning captain Beſt ſtood towards them; who weighed, and put before the wind, cannonaded until out of reach; for they ſailed better. The next morning, at ſun-riſe, he ſtood to them again, and maintained the fight until noon, when both ſides, weary, ſuch is the phraſe, parted. When Beſt, finding on examination that both his ſhips had expended more than half their ſtore of ammunition, reſolved to reſerve the remainder for defence, and ſteered towards Daman. The Portugueſe followed, to preſerve the ſhew of their flag; but did not venture near enough to renew the fight. Only one man was killed in theſe two laſt days; but the ſhot expended in all were, ſix hundred and twenty-five from the cannon, and three thouſand from the ſmall arms. *Novemb.*

On the 27th, the two ſhips, no longer dogged by the Portugueſe, anchored at Swally, and renewed the intercourſe with their factors at Surat; where the event of their fights raiſed the Engliſh reputation, even in the opinion of ill will;

1612. which nevertheleſs continued; and by means of the cuſtom-maſter, the confirmation of the articles by the Mogul, which arrived a few days after, was ſent to Swally as a common letter of buſineſs, which raiſed ſuſpicion that it might be a counterfeit; and captain Beſt, aware of the intended contempt, and its conſequences, whether it were or not, refuſed to receive it, unleſs delivered with the uſual ſolemnities. This ſpirit brought the governor and his ſon-in-law, the cuſtom-maſter, to Swally, who preſented it in ſtate*, and congratulated; but were very curious to know whether the Engliſh ſhips had not ſuffered more than was ſaid, in the late engagements.

Decem!. This paſſed on the 11th of December. The goods intended for the factory were immediately landed; and thoſe provided there, received on board. In the interim, on the 14th, the four gallions appeared again, but anchored at a diſtance. Captain Beſt ſet ſail in the night of the 17th, and was followed by them for two hours, when they parted with-

* Captain Beſt, in this part of his journal, calls the confirmation he received, a phirmaund, which is the higheſt rank of patent, expreſſed to be iſſued by order of the King, and authenticated by the Vizir. But we are inclined to think it was no more than a buſbullhookum, or injunction from the Vizir, which was ſoon after followed by a real phirmaund. For in the ſubſequent part of the journal, captain Beſt, when at Atchin, ſays,

" The ſeven and twentieth (of May) *Malim Gany* came to *Atchin*, by whom " I received letters from our merchants at *Surat*, and alſo a copie of the king's " *firma*, ſent them from *Agra*, bearing date the twenty-fifth of January, and " the ſeventh year of the Great Mogul's reigne, confirming all that was paſſed " between the governour of *Ahmedabad* and me."

out

out firing. Near Cananore he diſcovered the ſouthern armada of Portugueſe frigates, and took a merchant ſhip from amongſt them, which he ſunk after he had taken out the cargo of rice and ſugar. He then continued cruizing down the coaſt until the laſt of February, when he put off from Cape Comorin for Atchin. 1612. 1613. *Feb.*

The principal factors left by captain Beſt at Surat, were Aldworth, Canning, Kerridge, and Withington; and Andrew Starkey, to proceed overland to England, with advices of the ſettlement. Canning was ſent with the king's letter and the preſent, which was of little value, to Agra, travelling through much trouble, and was attacked by robbers, who killed ſome of his escort, and wounded more, with himself and another Engliſhman. He arrived on the 9th of April, and was aſked by the Mogul, whether *that* preſent was ſent by the king; but anſwered, that it was ſent by the merchants. He continued in daily dread of poiſon from the Portugueſe jeſuits; and died on the 29th of May, which confirmed the ſuſpicion. Andrew Starkey, was poiſoned ſomewhere on the way by two friars. Kerridge, was ſent from Surat on the 22d June, to ſupply the place of Canning, at Agra. *April.* *May.* *June.*

The Portugueſe, from vexation at the permiſſion of the Engliſh factory, and exaſperated by the reproach of their own inſufficiency, in not driving their ſhips from the road, reſolved to keep no meaſures with the government of Surat; and in October ſeized a ſhip belonging to the port, which had *Octob.*

1613. had on board five hundred perſons, and effects to the amount of 100,000 pounds; they carried her with the priſoners to Goa. This violation produced an interdict of all intercourſe, unleſs under eſpecial paſſport for the purpoſe of reconciliation.

Novemb. In November, Aldworth and Withington travelled from Surat to examine the marts of Broach, Jumbaſeer, Brodera, Neriad, and Ahmedabad, where they received intelligence, that three Engliſh ſhips were arrived at Laureebunder, in the river Indus: and Withington proceeded in order to aſſiſt them with his advice.

This journey is five hundred miles, and moſtly through the moſt inhoſpitable country in India. He ſet out on the 13th *Decemb.* of December, travelling for ſafety with a caravan, which was attacked in the night of the third ſtage; and the next day met the Mogul's officer returning with two hundred and fifty heads of the Coolies, a nation of robbers. The ſixth march brought them to *Radenpore* *, on the river Kutch, where they provided water and meat for the journey acroſs the deſert, in which they marched ſix days, watering their camels at brackiſh wells, until they arrived at Nagar Parkar, a village on the ſkirts of the better country; where came in a caravan, which had been robbed within two days of Tatta, the capital and emporium of Scindy. From Nagar Parkar they travelled three days, partly in the deſert, to a town

* Is in Mr. D'Anville's Carte de L'Inde, Nov. 1752.

called

called Bardiana, where they provided more water, but bad, 1613.
for the enſuing journey of five days, all through the deſert, to *Naramquere**; and arrived without miſchance, but much ſickneſs, when the caravan ſeparated, leaving Withington with four ſervants, two merchants with five, and five drivers to their ten camels; who hired an eſcort at *Naramquere*, which ſaved them from a band of robbers in the next march to Gundaiwa. The next day they were twice attacked, but cleared themſelves by a ſmall preſent, and arrived at Surruna, a large town with a caſtle, belonging to the Rajpoots; whoſe chief, Rajah Bulbul, had been taken by the Moguls, and blinded; but nevertheleſs had lately eſcaped to his own mountains, and excited his kindred to revenge. His ſon Boomah, who was in Surruna, aſked Withington many queſtions concerning England, invited him to ſupper, and drank freely. A Banian, who pretended to give intelligence concerning the Engliſh at Laureebunder, perſuaded Withington to hire Boomah to eſcort him to Tatta, as the journey was 1614.
full of danger, although not thirty miles.

Boomah attended with fifty horſe: the first halt, at ten miles, was on the bank of a river, from whence he renewed the march at two hours after midnight; and leading a quite contrary way, brought them, at break of day, into a thick wood; when his gang ſeized all, camels, men, and goods, and ſtrangled the two Hindoo merchants and their five ſer-

* Is in Mr. D'Anville's premiere partie de la Carte d'Aſie. 1751.

vants

1614. vants with their own tackle; but only bound Withington and his, and ſent them forty miles into the mountains to Boomah's brothers, by whom they were kept twenty-two days in cloſe confinement; and then ſent to Parkar, where the Rajpoot governor had orders to forward them to Radenpore. In the journey to Parkar they were robbed of their clothes, and lived from hence to Radenpore by begging, and the price of Withington's horſe, which the thieves did not think worth the taking. At Radenpore their wants were relieved by a Banian whom Withington had known at Ahmedabad, where he ar-

April. rived on the 2d of April, after a diſtreſsful abſence of one hundred and eleven days. Proceeding by Cambay and Broach he arrived on the 18th at Surat, where Aldworth was returned before, having left a houſe, hired on the company's account, at Ahmedabad, and another at Broach, with brokers and domeſtics to provide goods, until the factors from Surat ſhould come to examine them, and ſettle the prices.

The report of three ſhips in the Indus, which had called forth Withington, had ariſen from the arrival of one, named the Expedition, on board of which was ſir Robert Shirley, who had been ſent by the Sophy, Shah Abbas the great, as his embaſſador to king James; and was returning to Perſia, accompanied by ſir Thomas Powel, whom the king ſent as his own to the Sophy. Both embaſſadors had their wives with them; and in the retinue of ſir Robert Shirley were

were ſeveral Perſians. The ſhip was provided for the voyage of Surat and Bantam; but the company, grateful to the ſtate, and perſpicacious of their own future intereſts in Perſia, undertook to convey the embaſſadors. 1614.

The Portugueſe in poſſeſſion of Ormus, where their garriſon and gallies proudly barred the entrance of the Perſian gulph, and vaunting likewiſe their hold of Muſcat on the Arabian ſhore, deterred all approach within their reach, not licenſed by their paſſport; and the embaſſadors, ignorant of the countries between Perſia and the Indus, prudently rated the long journey from Surat to Candahar, as the moſt ſecure and ſhorteſt way of getting to Iſpahan. But the Expedition putting into the bay of Saldania, where they arrived in April, met ſeveral of the company's ſhips returning from Bantam; and with them captain Hawkins, whoſe account of Sir Henry Middleton's proceedings, as well at Surat as in the Red-ſea, made the embaſſadors deſpair of reception at that port; and it was reſolved to try the ſhores adjoining to Perſia; in ſight of which they came on the 10th of September, about one hundred miles to the eaſtward of Cape Jaſques. 1613.

Sir Thomas Powel went aſhore to get intelligence in a little village, and learned that the country was called Mekran, the people Baluches, and ſubject to a prince tributary to Perſia, who reſided at Guadel, a port five days ſail to the eaſtward, and would willingly convey the embaſſadors to the Sophy's court; on which they ſtood towards Guadel, and in

1614. 1613. the way endeavoured to ſtop two trading boats, which beat off the ſhip's pinnace, not without bloodſhed; and when purſued by the long-boat better armed, puſhed into a bay, where one of them ran aſhore, and was wrecked; and the other was with difficulty prevented; but all the men, excepting nine, ſwam aſhore, who, with the boat, were brought to the ſhip, and treated with civility. They belonged to Guadel, and had a paſs from the Portugueſe at Muſcat, to which they were bound, and begged to go, but were denied, from the fear of ſpreading alarm, and piloted the ſhip to *Septemb.* Guadel, where ſhe arrived on the 10th of September, the fifth day's ſail from the village, where Sir Thomas Powel had landed.

The governor of Guadel ſpared neither humilities, promiſes, nor preparations, to gain the confidence of the embaſſadors. The carriages and eſcort of their journey were collected and ſhewn; on which they landed their preſents, furniture, and money, and agreed to come aſhore on the 21ſt, at four in the afternoon.

It wanted only half an hour to this time, and all were ready dreſſed on the deck, when the ſhip's boat came on board with intelligence from the Perſian, Nazerbeg, that the Baluches intended to murder all who might land, excepting the chirurgeons, muſicians, women, and boys. Neither the joy, nor indignation of the danger eſcaped diſconcerted ſhrewdneſs or preſence of mind. Sir Robert Shirley ſent a meſſage to the governor,

governor, that a ſudden illneſs prevented him from coming aſhore until the next day, and mentioned the hour; but intending to land in ceremony, wiſhed the governor to ſend three boats, with ſome of his principal men, to honour the proceſſion of his own. The counter-ſnare was not ſuſpected. In the interval the money was ſecretly conveyed back to the pinnace, and a cheſt of old lumber, ſent from the ſhip, was changed for one of much value, which it was pretended had been brought aſhore by miſtake. The governor's boats, with fifty perſons, arrived on board the ſhip whilſt the pinnace was ſtill on ſhore; and to get her away without ſuſpicion was the pinch of the ſtratagem; for Nazerbeg, with three Europeans, were at the tent; and it was reſolved to ſave Hodgee Comal, the governor's phyſician, who had revealed the plot, and now obtained his leave to go to the ſhip in order to buy the proper medicines for his diſorder. The Europeans paſſed as muſicians neceſſary to the proceſſion; and Nazerbeg prevailed on a man of rank to go with him in order to ſee rarities. As ſoon as the boat was well on the way, all the Baluches on board the ſhip were ſeized and diſarmed; the meaner ſuffered to return; they of better condition confined; and a meſſage ſent to the governor, that their liberty ſhould anſwer the reſtoration of the effects on ſhore. A deceitful apology produced a ſecond ſummons, which limited their lives to two hours, and the hour-glaſs was ſet before the meſſenger. This terror brought off every thing, 1614. 1613.

1614. when all the priſoners were releaſed, excepting one, detained
1613. to pilot the ſhip to Scindy, which arrived at Diul*, in the
Sept. river Indus, on the 26th of September.

Many Portugueſe, although without regular force or government, were ſettled and trading at Diul, who repreſented the Engliſh as pirates. Nevertheleſs the Mogul's governor received the embaſſadors with courteſy, and promiſed to aſſiſt their journey, but refuſed the permiſſion of trade, becauſe the ſhip had brought few commodities; and the Portugueſe threatened to leave the port, which gained largely by their cuſtoms. He, however, promiſed in writing, that if the Engliſh would engage to make their trade as valuable, he would give them the preference.

So little was the intercourſe between Diul and Surat, that the Expedition heard nothing of the factory ſettled here by captain Beſt; to which, as well for the certainty of trade as the convenience of the embaſſadors' journey, they would otherwiſe have repaired: but diſembarked with their families and effects at Diul, intending to proceed from hence by Candahar to Iſpahan. The ſhip ſailed for Sumatra and Bantam
Octob. on the 9th of October, two months before Withington ſet out for Ahmedabad to find her in the Indus.

The miſs of this ſhip left the factors at Surat without the arrival of one from England during the two firſt ſeaſons after their eſtabliſhment, which might have expoſed them to the

* Not the iſland of Diu.

contempt

contempt and oppreſſion of the Mooriſh government, but for expectation of aſſiſtance from the firſt which might arrive, againſt the Portugueſe; who, after taking the great ſhip, had continued outrages by ſea and land againſt the Mogul's ſubjects within their reach, until, in conſequence of theſe provocations, an army, under the command of Mocrib Caun, marched from Ahmedabad againſt their town and territory of Daman, and another againſt their fortreſs in the iſland of Diu. 1614. 1613.

Withington, ſoon after his forlorn journey to Scindy, proceeded to Agra, where he arrived in the middle of June, and found all the catholics, who were many, prohibited from the public exerciſe of their religion; their churches ſhut up under guard; and the two Portugueſe jeſuits, who had hitherto been in great favour with the emperor, forbidden his preſence. 1614. *June.*

The occaſion which called Withington to Agra, was the death of John Mildenall, a name of earlier note in the reſort to India. He was bred a merchant, and was employed whilſt the eſtabliſhment of the COMPANY was under adjuſtment, to bear a letter from queen ELIZABETH to the Mogul, ACBAR, requeſting the freedom of trade in his dominions. He left Aleppo in July 1600, but did not arrive at Agra until the year 1603, where he was much thwarted by the friars; but after a reſidence of three years, obtained a phirmaund, Acbar being dead, from Jehangire, with which he returned

as

1614. as he came through Perſia, and was at Caſbin in October 1606. The advices of his ſucceſs, we ſuppoſe, promoted the miſſion of captain Hawkins, who ſailed for Surat in March 1607; at which time Mildenall might not have been arrived in England. The reſt of his ſtory is very obſcure. He returned to Perſia, if not before, in 1610, with ſome commiſſion, in which two others, young men, were joined; whom it is ſaid he poiſoned, in order to embezzle the effects committed to their common charge, with which he repaired to Agra, where he turned Roman catholic, and died himſelf of poiſon, leaving all he poſſeſſed to a Frenchman, whoſe daughter he intended to marry. Mr. Kerridge was at that time the reſident at Agra; but being conſtantly occupied in attendance on the court, ſent for Withington to collect the effects left by Mildenall; of which to the amount of 20,000 dollars were recovered, in conformity to the exemptions allowed in the phirmaund granted to captain Beſt.

At length the long-expected ſuccour from England ap-
Oct. 12. peared at the bar of Surat on the 12th of October, two years and eight months after the departure of the ſhips with captain Beſt; during which interval, none belonging to the Engliſh had been ſeen there. The fleet conſiſted of four ſhips, of 650, 500, three hundred, and two hundred tons; and the crews would have been ſix hundred men, if not impaired by ſickneſs. The general (for ſuch was the title given in theſe early voyages to the chief commander, even of a ſingle ſhip,

if

if independent of any other) was Nicholas Downton, who had been captain of one of thoſe with Sir Henry Middleton. They left England on the 1ſt of March, and had been informed at Socotra of the fights and phirmaund of captain Beſt. From Daman they were followed in the night by fourteen frigates, which avoided the day. The 15th they moored at Swally, where the next day came down Mr. Aldworth, the principal merchant, accompanied by Richard Steele, lately arrived from Aleppo, and ſent by the company on experiment. Theſe two, with one Biddulph, were the only factors remaining at Surat when the fleet arrived, which brought a ſufficient recruit. 1614. *Octob.*

Mocrib Caun not only commanded the army againſt Daman, which had done nothing, but likewiſe held, with the title of Nabob, the governments of SURAT, BROACH, Brodera, and Neriad, which extended from the Nerbeddah to the territory of the Portugueſe. His former conduct to Sir Henry Middleton had left a prejudice in the mind of Downton, which Aldworth could not remove by repreſenting his preſent want of aſſiſtance from the Engliſh. He was at this time at Surat, and expected the firſt overtures; which not coming, he ſent one of his principal officers, named Coja Nazar, to Swally, on the 27th of the month, to whom captain Downton delivered a preſent for Mocrib Caun, and another for himſelf; but neither of much value; and demanded redreſs for impoſitions in the cuſtoms, eſpecially at BROACH, and a market

1614. *Octob.* market for beeves on the ſtrand at Swally: but Coja Nazar anſwered, that the cuſtoms of BROACH were out of the power of the government, being farmed to a merchant; and that the Banians at Surat had paid a large ſum to prevent the killing of beeves. On which the three ſenior factors, newly arrived, were ſent with Aldworth to treat with the Nabob, who propoſed various means by which he might be aſſiſted; but was told, that the peace which ſubſiſted between the two nations in Europe, prohibited the Engliſh from any hoſtilities againſt the Portugueſe, excepting in their own defence; in which diſtinction, finding them inflexible, he ſaid, that as they would do nothing for him, he ſhould do nothing for them.

On the 27th, all the natives who had gathered at Swally, for dealing or employment, diſappeared. And on the ſame day, the factors in the city intending to return to the ſhips, were ſeized at the gate, and forced to priſon; where Aldworth imprudently ſaid, that ſuch treatment would drive the Engliſh to join the Portugueſe; which encreaſed the ſeverity; for this violence was occaſioned by the contrivance of two jeſuits in the town, who had counterfeited a letter, as from the vice-roy of Goa, ordering them to inform the Nabob, that unleſs he made peace with his nation, he ſhould join the Engliſh againſt the Mogul's government; and the angry words of Aldworth confirmed the ſuſpicion, until explanation detected the fraud, when the Nabob apologized, and permitted the

factors to return to Swally; from whence the country people had removed by his order given, not in deſpite, but in conſequence of injunctions from Agra, not to ſuffer any thing to be bought out of the ſhips which might arrive, before the Mogul's purveyors, who were expected, had choſen what was fit for his uſe. 1614.

With the factors came down what goods were in the factory, provided ſince the departure of captain Beſt. They were only ſixty bales of indico, and eleven bales of cotton-yarn, not in the whole exceeding 20,000 rupees. Money, and goods for ſale, to a much greater amount, had been left with Aldworth; but the produce had been expended in journies, maintenance, reſidences, equipages, and preſents.

The intercourſe now opened with the city did not entirely remove the ſuſpicions of captain Downton; which Mocrib Caun did not leſſen, by holding out a claim for reſtitution, on a pretended account of unfair dealings in the barters made with the Surat ſhips, when detained by ſir Henry Middleton in the Red-ſea; which Downton knew to be falſe. At the ſame time came intelligence, that the vice-roy of Goa was preparing the whole marine of his ſtate, to attack the Engliſh ſhips at Swally; and Downton doubted whether he might not be joined by Mocrib Caun; who a few days after threatened the factors in the city with ſeverities, becauſe they refuſed to ſhew him the preſent intended for the Mogul;

1614. which nevertheleſs they were at laſt obliged to do. Theſe miſtruſts deterred Downton from riſquing himſelf on ſhore, until his anxieties were alleviated by the arrival of officers ſent by the Mogul to examine the preſents, who brought orders that the Engliſh ſhould be treated with favour in all their wants and dealings; on which Mocrib Caun made honorary preſents to the principal factors, and gave the allotted ſum for expences to thoſe who were to accompany the Mogul to Agra, adviſing them to ſet out without delay, and promiſing eſcort as far as his authority reached. This
Novemb. paſſed on the 25th of November: a few days after, he ſent merchants to make purchaſes in the ſhips for his own uſe;
Decemb. and then his ſon, on the 9th of December, to viſit Downton, who met him on the ſtrand at Swally.

Four days after appeared a fleet of twenty-two frigates, which paſſed unmoleſted, although near the ſand of Swally; for Downton adhered to his reſolution of not commencing hoſtility. They croſſed the gulph to the road of Gogo, where they burnt one hundred and twenty trading boats, and ſeveral ſhips, of which one was the Rehemy, without doubt, at this time, the largeſt on the ſeas of India; after which the ſoldiers landed, and deſtroyed ſeveral villages; but Gogo, being walled, was ſafe. The news of this devaſtation arrived at Surat on the 16th of December, and renewed the ſuſpicion of Mocrib Caun, that the Engliſh were in league with the

Portugueſe,

Portugueſe, becauſe they had not fired on the frigates as they paſſed. 1614. *Decemb.*

Before their return, captain Downton weighed from Swally, and anchored his ſhips off the bar of Surat, in order to protect the communication of his boats with the city. The road is ſeven miles from the ſhore; and every where along the coaſt are ſands which afford refuge to ſhallow veſſels againſt the approach of ſhips of deep burthen, of which the frigates availed themſelves, anchoring much nearer the ſhore, from whence they gave chace, even into the river, to every boat which appeared either coming in or going out; whilſt others cruized as they lifted around. On ſeveral nights ſome bore down, as if they intended to ſet the ſhips on fire; which were kept in continual alerts, either of guard, defence, or chace, with very little detriment done or received, until the 29th, when captain Downton, finding that he could not prevent the cruizes of the frigates at the mouth of the river, returned to Swally. On the 16th of January, a fleet of near forty more appeared from the ſouth, and joining thoſe already at the bar, went all together into the river to get water, and came out the next day. The day after arrived nine ſhips, which were followed the next day by two gallies. 1615. *Jan.*

The crews of the Portugueſe marine in India were compoſed of two different orders. The fighting men were rated as genuine Portugueſe; who, proud of this pre-eminence,

1615. *Jun.* refuſed, unleſs in caſes of extremity, to take part in the ſervices neceſſary to navigate the veſſel; but reſerved to themſelves the management of the cannon, fire-works, and ſmall arms. The mariners were either ſlaves, or Hindoos of the meaner caſts, or ſtill more degenerate chriſtians, born in the country, and conſidered as unworthy of the military character, were entirely allotted to the management of the tackle. The armament, which now appeared at the bar of Surat, was commanded by the vice-roy of Goa, Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, who hoiſted his flag as admiral, in the Todos Santos of eight hundred tons, two hundred and ſixty fighting men, of whom thirty were of family and diſtinction, and twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, which probably were of the larger calibres; for two are expreſsly ſaid to be forty pounders. Five others of the ſhips were from ſeven to four hundred tons; from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and forty men, from twenty to fourteen guns. Theſe ſix were rated as galleons; a diſtinction we do not comprehend. The two next in force were each of two hundred tons, fifty men, and eight guns; and a pinnace of four guns had eighty fighting men. The two gallies had each fifty. The frigates had eighteen oars on a ſide, and were equally manned with thirty beſides the rowers, who were probably two to an oar; in which caſe they amounted to four thouſand three hundred and twenty, and, with the mariners in the larger veſſels, made

the

the number of ſix thouſand natives ſerving in the fleet; in which the Portugueſe, or Europeans, were two thouſand ſix hundred, who managed, with very* little ſkill, one hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, againſt eighty of much inferior ſhot. 1615. Jan.

Captain Downton conſidered the ſucceſs of this armament as the certain deſtruction of the Engliſh commerce in the Mogul's dominions; reaſoning, that if his own ſhips ſhould be driven from their ſtations, in the roads of Surat and Swally, the vice-roy, by devaſtation even of the city itſelf, would compel the Nabob to refuſe the Engliſh all future reſort and intercourſe; and, computing the loſs of his ſhips as a detriment much inferior to ſuch a conſequence, he reſolved to periſh with them, rather than recede; but did not deſpair that ſtratagem might avail to ſupply the defect of force.

The Nabob, terrified by the appearance of the armament, ſent his ſhabander, or cuſtom-maſter, and ſeveral other principal men, to the vice-roy, with a large preſent of proviſions, and many promiſes, to obtain peace; which the vice-roy refuſed, not doubting that he ſhould deſtroy the Engliſh

* We have endeavoured to compute the force of this armada, from the depoſition in Purchas, of a Portugueſe who ſerved in one of the galleons. FARIA DE SOUZA relates this campaign; and, although differing in ſome particulars from the Engliſh accounts, without partiality to the Portugueſe. Deſcribing that part of the fleet, which ſailed with the vice-roy from Goa, and conſiſted of all the veſſels which mounted cannon, beſides ſome others, he ſays, "Llevavan "mil y quatrocientos Portugueſes mucha y poderoſa artilleria: pero *ignorantes manejadores* della."

ſhips;

1615. Jan. ſhips; after which he intended to exact much ſeverer terms, or the full price of remiſſion.

The channel of Swally is about a mile and a half in breadth, and ſeven in length. It lies between a ſpot of ſand of this length, which is dry at low water, and the main ſhore. The ſhips, when Swally uſed to be the ſtation, now deſerted, anchored in a cove which cuts into the land, about midway of the channel, and is called Swally-hole. The wind, during the northerly monſoon, blows conſtantly from the N. E. and at this time generally freſh enough to ſtem the flood, which comes from the ſouth.

Early in the morning of the 20th, at low water, Downton ſent the Hope, of three hundred tons, to anchor at the ſouth entrance of the channel, where the galleons would not have depth ſufficient to come near her until the flood was high. The three other ſhips ſoon after came out of the cove, but anchored again in the channel. Theſe manœuvres produced the intended miſtake, that the Engliſh ſhips had quitted Swally to put to ſea and fly the coaſt. And the Hope had ſcarcely anchored, before the whole fleet of the Portugueſe were under full ſail, plying to ſtop the channel. The two ſmaller ſhips, with the pinnace, which were foremoſt, all at the ſame time grappled and boarded the Hope; in which, the attack being expected, was well reſiſted. Downton, with the three other ſhips, leaving their anchors, came down, and choſe their ſhot on the enemy's ſhips entangled with the Hope;

Hope; which thrice beat off the Portugueſe who had entered, to find more danger on board their own; which the confuſion of continual ſlaughter diſabled them from cutting clear of the Hope, until in deſpair, they ſet fire to all the three, and took to the water; when a number of frigates, which had hitherto given no aſſiſtance, now riſqued themſelves, and ſaved many, but many were drowned. 1615. *Jan.*

In the mean time the Hope had taken fire in her main and fore rigging, but nevertheleſs diſengaged herſelf from the three ſhips in fiercer flames, which drove on the ſands, and burnt until overwhelmed by the flood. All this while the galleons kept on the outſide of the ſpit, acroſs which they cannonaded the Engliſh ſhips within the channel, which was anſwered; but with little detriment on either ſide.

This ſucceſs changed the face of affairs. The vice-roy ſent a deputation to the Nabob propoſing an alliance; who anſwered with a preſent of proviſions, and refuſal to make any peace in which the Engliſh ſhould not be included; to whom he ordered his officers at Swally to give every aſſiſtance, and even ſent timber from the city to replace the main-maſt of the *Hope*, which had been deſtroyed by the fire. And the Engliſh ſhips carried on their uſual occupations in the channel, ſometimes alarmed, but never attacked, by the Portugueſe, who waited for reinforcements; which arrived on the 3d of February, conſiſting of two ſhips, two large junks, and eight or ten of the country boats.

On

1615. *Feb.* On the 8th, in the forenoon, the two junks, with the two gallies before arrived, came driving up the channel with the flood, as if intending to fire the ſhips, for which they were ſaid to be prepared; but as ſoon as the ſhips weighed and ſtood towards them, they put about, and got away with the wind. Captain Downton ſuſpected, that this appearance was only meant to fix his attention to this end of the channel, whilſt it was really intended to make the attack from the other, where, during the ebb, the wind and tide ſerved together; whereas the wind conſtantly oppoſed the flood, which was the only help of approach from the ſouth. Nor was he miſtaken; for ſoon after dark, the interception of a large light on an iſland, at a great diſtance, or perhaps on the coaſt itſelf, on the other ſide of the bay towards Gogo, diſcovered that veſſels were moving to the north of the channel; and before midnight four were deſcried coming down with the ebb: they were two fire-boats not yet lighted, towed by two frigates. The cannon and ſmall arms of the ſhips ſoon obliged the frigates to throw off the boats, ſetting fire to them; which coming on were avoided by three of the ſhips, but both at ſome interval fell on the Hope, one athwart her hauſe, the other on her quarter; but ſhe cleared herſelf without damage, and the flood brought them back, ſtill burning in the morning, when the ſhips boats towed them aground.

On the night of the 10th came down two boats, towed by four frigates, which, as before, were forced by the fire of the

ſhips to caſt off and kindle the boats at too great a diſtance, when the ſtrength of the wind drove them to leeward of the ſhips. They were ſcarcely paſſed, when many more frigates were diſcerned, which had in tow four boats chained together ahead: all ſtemmed directly on the Hector, affording ſpacious mark to the fire of all the ſhips; which again beat away the frigates, in ſuch terror, that they only lighted two of the boats. The Hector, by ſwinging round on her cable, avoided them. A ſhot from the admiral ſet fire to the third boat, which fired the other; and all, confounded together, were driven by the gale on the ſtrand of Swally. 1615. *Feb.*

The Portugueſe galleons, which had this while continued anchoring to the northward, fell down the next day to the bar of Surat, where captain Downton cauſed them to be watched, ſuſpecting the vice-roy might land and attempt the city, in which caſe he reſolved to attack the galleons, deprived of their fighting men; but the vice-roy ſaw the danger, and only ſent the frigates into the river, to give importance to the negociation which he renewed with the Nabob, who anſwered as before, that he could not abandon the Engliſh. And on the 13th the vice-roy ſailed away with all the armada, excepting twenty frigates; which created various conjectures concerning his future intentions.

Notwithſtanding the alarms to which the Engliſh ſhips had been lately expoſed, they had not deſiſted from landing their outward cargoes, and receiving on board the goods provided for England; all of which were ſhipped, as well as the water

1615. *Feb.* and proviſions; when captain Downton, deeming the fair ſeaſon too far ſpent to permit the armada, if they ſhould return, to attack the city, ſignified his intention of departing to the Nabob, who intreated him to defer it for fifteen days, and after much ſeeming objection he conſented to eight; on which the Nabob ſent his tents and pomp to Swally, and arrived there himſelf with a great train on the 24th in the morning, before captain Downton was apprized, who landed two hours after, with one hundred and twenty men regularly armed, and was eſcorted by them to the tent, where the Nabob received and entertained him with much courteſy, and on his invitation went on board his ſhip, which he examined with intelligent curioſity; and Downton accompanied him back to the ſhore. Two days after, his ſon, and ſon-in-law, came on board to take leave; and the next, ſeveral of the principal men of the town.

March. On the 3d of March the Engliſh ſhips weighed from Swally, and ſaw a fleet of frigates coming from the weſtward to the river, moſt of which paſſed in ſhoal-water, out of cannon-ſhot; but the ſhips fired on the neareſt, to give the laſt teſtimony of good-will to their friends on ſhore. Veſſels going from Surat to the ſouth, even in the northerly monſoon, ſave their ground by anchoring on the flood, unleſs the wind is very ſtiff. At day-break the Portugueſe armada were diſcerned at anchor towards the ſhore; who weighed and ſtood after the Engliſh ſhips through the day, but loſt ground by not anchoring, as they did, on the flood. The next day, the 5th

of

of the month, both fleets ſtood on to the ſouth; but the Portugueſe did not gain, although the *Hope* ſailed ſo ill, that the *Hector*, which ſailed the beſt, was obliged to take her in tow. The ſucceeding day, Downton, thinking he had led the armada far enough from their own ports and Surat, reſolved to let them come up, and then putting about ſuddenly, to attack them unexpected, hoping much from the ſurprize of conceited ſuperiority. He accordingly went in his boat to the three other ſhips, to animate and inſtruct them; during which the flood ſet in; when his own, which had the admiral's flag aloft, meaning to accommodate the quickneſs of his return to her with the tide, fell aſtern of the others. At this time the vice-roy's galleon ſailing well, was far a-head of the reſt of his fleet, and near enough to have brought Downton's to engagement; and his gunner proffered to ſink her with the two forty-pounders, which ſeem to have been the pride of the armada; but the *hidalgoes*, or gentry, ſaid that the Engliſh admiral had fallen aſtern with no other intention than to tempt the vice-roy to the trial, when the three other ſhips would bear down, and be an overmatch; on which he hauled his wind * towards the ſhore, was followed by his fleet, and 1615. *March.*

* FARIA DE SOUSA ſays, that the Engliſh ſhips made their acknowledgments to the vice-roy for this reſolution of not fighting them, by a ſalute, as from friends, of their cannon without ball; and reaſon good, that they ſhould conſult the ſafety and ſatisfaction of thoſe who had conſulted theirs. "Finalmente los "Ingleſes agradecieron aquella reſolucion a los nueſtros, con un ſalva como de "amigos, porque fue de artilleria ſin bala: que era razon procuraſſen el guſto y "la ſalud de quien les procurava el ſuyo y la ſuya."—But notwithſtanding the wit of FARIA, the Engliſh ſalute was a very ironical compliment.

1615. *March.* all were ſoon out of ſight, as the Engliſh ſhips continued their courſe. When the vice-roy was afterwards arraigned on various crimes during his government, his conduct on this day was one of the articles of accuſation, and the very hidalgoes, in deference to whoſe opinion he had refrained from the attack, witneſſed againſt him. The Engliſh ſhips proceeded down the coaſt, and on the 10th of the month the Hope was ſent off for England; the other three doubled Cape *June.* Comorin on the 19th, and arrived on the ſecond of June at *Aug.* Bantam, where captain Downton died on the 6th of Auguſt, lamented, admired, and unequalled.

1614. *Novem.* The preſent for the Mogul had ſet out from Surat on the laſt of November, under the charge of Mr. Edwards, the *Decem.* ſenior merchant of thoſe who arrived in the fleet: an eſcort was furniſhed by Mocrib Caun; and Mr. Aldworth, the principal agent, with ſeveral other factors, availed themſelves of the ſafety and repute of this opportunity, to viſit the towns where the company had reſidencies or trade. The eſcort was changed at BROACH, again at Demy-rode; but at Chamondyle only twenty-five men were allotted, and they were in concert with the robbers, of whom a band of fifty horſemen came near the caravan whilſt halting at night, but were deterred by the diſpoſitions of defence which the factors made with their own ſervants. On the 8th they arrived at Brodera, where a preſent to the governor, and a fight of the maſtiff dog intended for the Mogul, procured them kind reception, and an eſcort of one hundred ſoldiers, who accompanied

them to Ahmedabad, where they arrived on the 13th. From hence Richard Steele and John Crouther were ſent off on their deſtined journey, to Perſia; and on the 2d of January, Mr. Edwards continued his with the preſent to Agra. 1615. *Jan.*

The excluſion of the Portugueſe enabled the Engliſh factors abroad to make their purchaſes at Ahmedabad with diſpatch and ſufficient cheapneſs. They ſet out on their return from thence, on the 26th of January, with forty carts, and an eſcort, which the government encreaſed, becauſe murders and robberies had been committed, two nights before, cloſe to the walls of the city. At Mundevas, the governor informed them of the fight, which had paſſed on the 20th, between the *Hope* and the three ſhips which boarded her, acknowledging that Surat owed its preſervation to that ſucceſs, and in gratitude augmented their eſcort; to which more were fortunately added when they arrived at Brodera; for on the march to Broach, the caravan was attacked in a cloſe lane, thick ſet on each ſide with hedges, by three hundred Rajpoots, who with their lances and arrows wounded many, although few dangerouſly, and before the line could get out again into the plain, cut off two of the carriages, with which they retired to divide the booty. On the 5th of February the caravan arrived at Surat, and the goods were ſent to the ſhips at Swally. *Feb.*

The miſſion of Steele and Crouther was intended to procure a phirmaund for the permiſſion of Engliſh ſhips to trade

in

1615. in the ports of Perſia; and the hopes of ſucceſs were authorized by the circumſtances of the time, and the expected aſſiſtance of ſir Robert Shirley.

1613. *Octob.* The ſhip *Expedition* had no ſooner left the Indus, as we have ſaid, in October 1613, than the governor of Diul, who was a Banian, and either bribed or intimidated by the Portugueſe, falſified the promiſes which had induced the two embaſſadors to land under his protection; a frigate had been diſpatched to Ormus, which brought back twelve aſſaſſins, if other means ſhould fail, to ſtop their journey to Perſia; which obliged them to keep conſtant guard in their own houſe, often expoſed to the outrages of the Portugueſe reſiding in the town; which the governor, if he did not encourage, would not, although called on, prevent, but even refuſed his permiſſion for their departure; during theſe diſtreſſes, ſir
1614. Thomas Powel, and one of his followers, died. At length ſir Robert Shirley ſet out with his own means; which, as he took his company, muſt have been openly, and without hindrance; but when they came to where they intended to croſs the river, no boats would venture to carry them over: on which they made a raft, and Shirley firſt embarked with Nazerbeg, to try the paſſage, when a party of horſe, ſent from Diulſinde, appeared on the bank, and ſwimmers brought back the raft. Meanwhile a fray enſued on ſhore, and Mr. Ward, who had long been the companion of ſir Robert Shirley, fired his piſtol in the face of one of the troop, and

was

was inſtantly ſhot dead by another. All were ſeized and carried back, their effects pillaged in the way, and the whole company put into priſon. At length the were releaſed, and permitted to get boats, in which they proceeded to Tatta, where the governor, being a Perſian, treated them with civility; but as all the roads were infeſted by robbers, they waited two months for the eſcort of an omrah of diſtinction travelling to Agra. During this delay, the widow of ſir Thomas Powel was brought to bed, and died with her infant; and ſoon after Michael, the brother of ſir Thomas, likewiſe died. 1615. 1614.

Sir Robert Shirley, on his arrival at Agra, was received with much courteſy by the emperor, who wiſhed to entertain him in his ſervice, and ſent for the governor of Diulſinde, on whom he offered to inflict any puniſhment ſir Robert might chuſe, if he would ſtay to ſee it inflicted. But ſir Robert preſſed to continue his journey, and gave offence by a retort to a harſh reflection on the king of Perſia; which nevertheleſs did not prevent the ſometimes generous humour of Jehangire from diſmiſſing him with rich preſents*, equipage, proviſions, and an eſcort, which was continued to the frontier of Candahar, from whence he arrived ſafely with his lady at Iſpahan; bearing the purport of ſir Thomas Powel's embaſſy from KING JAMES, which was not unacceptable to SHAH ABBAS; who having lately reduced the province of Lar, wiſhed to diſpoſſeſs the Portugueſe of Ormus, and their other lordſhips in

* Purchas ſays, to the amount of 9,000l.

the

1614. the Perſian gulph, but wanted the aſſiſtance of an equal force at ſea, which he foreſaw might be furniſhed by the Engliſh nation.

1615. *March.* The Portugueſe vice-roy, after retreating from captain Downton, ſtopped at Baſſein, before he proceeded to Goa, and inſtructed his governor of Daman to endeavour a reconciliation with Surat; to which end the jeſuit Hieronimo Xavier worked more efficaciouſly at Agra, by proffers and apologies, which gained the emperor's mother from motives of religion, and his wife by expectation of preſents; at whoſe ſolicitations the emperor gave the government and revenue of Surat in appanage to his third ſon Sultan Currom, who ſucceeded to the throne with the name of Shah Jehan.

Sultan Currom appointed his favorite Zulfacar Caun to act as his manager and vicegerent at Surat, from whence *Aug.* Mocrib Caun ſat out as ſoon as the rains began to abate, and Mr. Aldworth, with ſeveral factors, took the advantage of his eſcort, to repair to Cambay and Ahmedabad *.

Sept. Zulfacar Caun, vexed at the detriments which the ſtate and revenues of his new government had ſuſtained from the Portugueſe, imputed the cauſe to the Engliſh, whom he deteſted accordingly, and concluded a treaty with the governor of Daman, which, according to the hiſtorian FARIA, conſiſted

* We find this ſecond journey of Aldworth, and the departure of Mocrib Caun, not in any of the relations in Purchas, but in a ſeparate tract of forty pages in 12°—printed London 1633, and written by CHRISTOPHER FAREWELL, one of the factors who accompanied Mr. Aldworth in this journey.

of

of the following articles, "That neither the emperor, nor the 1615. Sept.
" vice-roy ſhould hold any correſpondence either with the En-
" gliſh or the Dutch: that they ſhould not ſhelter either of theſe
" nations in their ports; but obliged themſelves to drive them
" out of the ſea of Guzerat within three months after their
" appearance in it: that if the Engliſh ſhould come into the
" WELL of Surat, the Portugueſe ſhould be permitted to raiſe
" batteries on the ſhore, and expel them: that, former injuries
" and loſſes on both ſides being forgot, the Moguls and
" Portugueſe ſhould trade freely in each others ports: that
" the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be reſtored, and the Mogul
" reſtore all effects in his poſſeſſion belonging to the Portu-
" gueſe, after paying himſelf ſeventy thouſand xerafins,
" for the eſtimated loſs in a ſhip coming from Mecca: that
" the hulk of a ſhip ſhould be given to the emperor's mother,
" in compenſation for that* which had been burnt at Gogo:
" that the VICE-ROY ſhould permit two ſhips for one year, and
" one every year, to make the voyage from Surat to *Mecca*,
" exempt from all duties: that the Malabars ſhould be
" driven out of the ports of both, as pernicious pirates; and
" that nothing in this peace ſhould alter the rights of the
" king of Portugal to levy duties at his cuſtom-houſe of Diu,
" on all veſſels navigating the gulph of Cambay." We can-
not aſcertain the date of this treaty; which FARIA places
towards the end of this year 1615, and it might have been

* The Rehemy, ſee page 325 and 346.

1615. executed in September, ſoon after the arrival of Zulfacar
Sept. Caun; who at all events could not preſume to fulfil all its engagements, until confirmed by the Mogul.

Frequent information given by intelligent perſons who had been at Agra, concerning the ſtate and manners of the Mogul's court, had convinced the company of the expediency of a formal embaſſy from the KING, to be executed by a perſon of more diſtinction than any who at this time ſought their mercantile ſervice. Accordingly ſir Thomas Roe was appointed; but, as if the royal commiſſion required not the accompaniments of ſplendor, frugality preſcribed his allowances, his retinue, and even the preſent to the Mogul, with little conformity to the ſumptuous prejudices of the moſt magnificent court in the univerſe.

Sir Thomas Roe embarked in one of four ſhips which ſailed together. They left the land's end on the 6th of
March. March of 1615, touched at the Cape, at Mohila, and at So-
Sept. cotra; and anchored at Swally on the 18th of September. The factor Biddulph came down, and returned with ſeveral of thoſe arrived, in order to provide and furniſh the embaſſador's houſe; nevertheleſs each of them was ſtrictly ſearched at the city gate, for the cuſtoms on what toys or implements they might have about them. Zulfacar Caun, notwithſtanding his averſion to the Engliſh, was deterred by reſpect to his own ſovereign from inſulting their embaſſador without pretext, and ſent down his principal men to receive ſir Thomas

Thomas Roe on the ſtrand: who landed on the 24th under a general ſalute, and the beſt apparel of the ſhips, accompanied by all their officers, the factors, his own retinue, and one hundred men under arms. 1615.

On his arrival at the city, his own perſon, with four of his followers, were exempted, but not until after remonſtrance, from the cuſtom-houſe ſearch; but Zulfacar refuſed the rest, pretending to ſee no difference between his, and the quality of thoſe who had been employed as the company's reſidents at Agra *, all of whom had aſſumed the title of embaſſador from the king of England. This was followed by other affronts; which determined him to wait for an anſwer from the court; during which, Mr. Aldworth died at Ahmedabad, and Mr. Kerridge, who took the management of the factory there, was fined and impriſoned by the government. The letters from court ordered proper reſpect to ſir Thomas Roe; who ſat out from Surat on the 30th of October. *Oct.*

At BRAMPORE were encamped the Sultan Parviz, ſecond ſon of the emperor, and Chan Chanan, the rival of Aſiph Jah, with forty thouſand horſe, deſigned againſt Melec Amber. Sir Thomas viſited the Sultan, and requeſted his permiſſion to eſtabliſh a factory in the city; which he not only granted, but immediately iſſued the phirmaunds for the coming and *reſidence* of the factors: he likewiſe ordered new carriages for

* Hawkins, Canning, Kerridge, Edwards.

1615. *Decemb.* the Mogul's preſent. Sickneſs detained him at Brampore for ſome days. On the 23d of December he arrived at Azmir, to which the Mogul had removed from Agra, and was met the day before by Edwards the reſident, and Thomas Coryat the traveller.

1616. *Jan.* His ſickneſs delayed the firſt audience until the 10th of January: he was received by the Mogul with more than the uſual courteſy to embaſſadors in the eaſt, and delivered the preſents from the KING. On the 14th he viſited Sultan Currom, with one, as from the company; and demanded redreſs of him, as lord of Surat, for the many injuries which had been inflicted on their trade and factors by the officers of that government; adding, that reſpect to the Sultan had prevented him from complaining to the emperor. The Sultan promiſed that the grievances ſhould be immediately remedied. On the 24th ſir Thomas, at a public audience, repreſented to the emperor the violences and indignities which the factors had ſuffered at Ahmedabad; on which he ordered two phirmaunds of injunction; the one, that the money exacted from Mr. Kerridge ſhould be reſtored, and the Engliſh be treated with all favour; the other, to releaſe all cuſtoms, levied on whatſoever pretence, on the roads; and to repay what had been received. He moreover willed ſir Thomas Roe to complain again, if theſe orders were not ſoon and punctually obeyed.

But theſe profeſſions were only occaſional reliefs, and no earneſt for ſuch a treaty as ſir Thomas Roe was inſtructed to obtain for the general and permanent ſecurity of the Engliſh trade in the Mogul's dominions; which, although not openly, were inveterately oppoſed by the moſt powerful influences in the court. Many had been perſuaded by the jeſuit, and Sultan Currom by Zulfacar Caun, of whoſe conduct ſir Thomas Roe had complained, that Surat would be more benefited by the friendſhip and intercourſe of the Portugueſe, than the trade of the Engliſh; or at leaſt, that this trade would never compenſate the detriment of the Portugueſe hoſtilities, which would never ceaſe whilſt the Engliſh were encouraged. Sultan Currom had married the daughter of Aſiph Jah, the vizier; whoſe ſiſter, Noormahil*, was married to the emperor, and rarely failed to influence all his reſolutions. The aunt and father-in-law indulged the prejudices of the Sultan, and thwarted the ſucceſs of ſir Thomas Roe; who having borne the delays and excuſes of office for two months, and finding nothing conſonant in the terms offered by Sultan Currom, ſpoke directly to the emperor, and requeſted a definitive anſwer to his own propoſals. The emperor aſked what preſents he ſhould receive yearly, expected rubies and diamonds (which the Portugueſe gave) but ſeemed content with the promiſe of curious manufactures, and wiſhed to have a large Engliſh horſe. Renewing the

1616. *Jan.*

March 13th.

* See note XI. to the Hiſtorical Fragments, page 185.

diſcourſe

1616. *March.* diſcourſe of the treaty, ſir Thomas Roe ſaid that the Engliſh had been often *wronged*, and could not continue on ſuch terms. The emperor caught the word, and aſked, with much emotion, By whom *wronged?* Sir Thomas ordered his interpreter, in broken Spaniſh, to ſay "that he would not trouble "his majeſty, but aſk redreſs of his ſon, from whom he "doubted not to obtain it." The king underſtanding the word *figlio*, thought his ſon was accuſed, and ſcolded him roundly, before he would liſten to the explanation of the miſtake; which reſtored quiet, and renewed the converſation on the phirmaund offered by the Sultan, which produced other altercations of heat; when Mocrib Caun ſpoke out in favour of the Portugueſe, and ſlightingly of the Engliſh, and was ſeconded by the jeſuit; to which ſir Thomas Roe replied, that he offered them a conditional peace, but ſet their friendſhip at a mean rate, and their hatred and force at leſs. The emperor ſaid, his demands were juſt, his reſolution noble, and bade him propound. But Aſiph Jah, who had hitherto been ſilent, although very ſignificant, was apprehenſive that more diſpute would break out, and propoſed, that the Engliſh demands ſhould be preſented to the emperor in writing; ſir Thomas, that the Sultan's terms ſhould accompany them, which was agreed to with ſeeming ſatisfaction on all ſides, but with diſſembled by Sultan Currom. On the 26th of March, ſir Thomas Roe delivered his demands to the emperor at the public audience; they were diſpoſed into nine-

nineteen articles*, which comprehended every neceſſary pro- 1616. *March.*
viſion for the ſafety and ſucceſs of the company's trade in the

* The articles, as penned by ſir Thomas Roe, were,

I. That there be perpetual peace and amity between the king of Great Britain and his Indian majeſty.

II. That the ſubjects of England have free trade in all ports of India.

III. That the governors of all ports publiſh this agreement three times, upon the arrival of any Engliſh ſhips.

IV *That the merchants and their ſervants ſhall not be ſearched or ill uſed.*

V. *That no preſents ſent to the Mogul ſhall be opened.*

VI. *That the Engliſh goods ſhall not be ſtopped above twenty-four hours at the cuſtom-houſe*, only to be there ſealed, and ſent to the merchant's houſe, there to be opened and rated within ſix days after.

VII. That no governor ſhall take any goods by force, but upon payment at the owner's price; nor any taken *upon pretence of the king's ſervice.*

VIII. That the merchants ſhall not be hindered ſelling their goods to whom they pleaſe, or ſending them to other factories, and this without paying any other duty than what is paid at the port.

IX. That whatſoever goods the Engliſh buy in any part of the Mogul's dominions, they may ſend down to the ports, without paying any duty more than ſhall be agreed on at the port at ſhipping them; and this without hindrance or moleſtation.

X. That no goods brought to any port ſhall be again opened, the Engliſh ſhewing a certificate of their numbers, qualities, and conditions, from the governor or officers of the place where they were bought.

XI. That no confiſcation ſhall be made of the goods or money of any Engliſh dying.

XII. That no cuſtom be demanded for proviſions during the ſtay of Engliſh ſhips at any port.

XIII. That the merchants' ſervants, whether Engliſh or Indians, ſhall not be puniſhed or beaten for doing their duty.

XIV. That the Mogul ſhall puniſh any governor or officer for breach of any of theſe articles.

XV. That the Engliſh ſhips ſhall ſuffer all others to paſs and repaſs freely to the Mogul's ports, except their enemies; and that the Engliſh aſhore ſhall behave themſelves civilly as merchants.

XVI. That they ſhall yearly furniſh the Mogul with all rarities from Europe, and all other ſuch things as he ſhall deſire, at reaſonable prices.

XVII. The

1616. *March.* the Mogul's dominions, and guarded, by ſpecial expreſſion, againſt the repetition of ſuch injuries and indignities as he himſelf had ſeen or ſuffered at Surat.

1615. *Octob.* The vice-roy Azevedo, on his return to Goa, armed a fleet of twelve ſhips and twelve ſmaller veſſels, of which he gave the command to Ruy Freyre, a man of quality, and an officer of reputation. They ſailed at the end of October, in the preceding year; and during the paſſage, as well as at the *emb.* outſet, took under their convoy all the trade of the coaſt bound to the northward. From Balzar, near Daman, two of the ſhips went off to convoy the veſſels bound into the gulph of Cambay, and to return with what were ready to ſail from thence; but Freyre, with the main body of his fleet, anchored at the bar of Surat; from whence, we ſuppoſe *, the Engliſh ſhips, which had brought ſir Thomas Roe, expected to be attacked by him at Swally. Zulfacar Caun ſent

XVII. The Engliſh to pay the duty of *three and a half per cent.* for goods reaſonably rated; and *two per cent.* for pieces of eight; and no other duty elſewhere.

XVIII. That the Engliſh ſhall be ready to aſſiſt the Mogul againſt all his enemies.

XIX. Laſtly. That the Portugueſe may come into this peace within ſix months; or, if they refuſe, the Engliſh be at liberty to exerciſe all hoſtilities againſt them.

* The journal of captain Peyton, who commanded the ſhip Expedition, is the only one concerning this voyage; and it ſays nothing of what paſſed at Surat after the 5th of November to the departure of the ſhips; ſo that we ſpeak of this armada, from the particular account given of it by Faria y Souſa, who even mentions the long names of twenty-three commanders, and nineteen hidalgoes, commanding or ſerving in the different veſſels; and commemorates with complacence the gallant diſintereſtedneſs of their admiral.

officers,

officers, with two boats from the city, laden, as he ſaid, with 1616.
proviſions, which he requeſted Ruy Freyre to accept; but 1615.
they contained bales of curious cloths and ſilks; which *Novemb.*
Freyre opened, examined, praiſed, and returned to the officers, in the preſence of all his captains, whom he had ſummoned to participate in the refuſal; but reſerved one piece, which was a ſhawl, and profeſſed the ſame aſſurance of his ſervices to the governor, as if he had accepted the whole preſent. The ſhawl was dedicated to the faireſt miſtreſs. The fleet ſailed to Diu and Gogo, whilſt the trading veſſels were preparing at Cambay, which joined at the end of December, and was the largeſt convoy of many years. Off *Decemb.* Daman they were aſſailed by a violent tempeſt, which wrecked or ſunk four ſhips of the armada, and only one man was ſaved out of three of them; of the other, all. Thus ended this cruiſe, without giving any moleſtation to the Engliſh ſhips, notwithſtanding the late pretended treaty with the government of Surat; who were probably deterred by the reſpect with which they were ordered to treat ſir Thomas Roe, from encouraging the armada to the hoſtilities they wiſhed. 1616.

In February the Engliſh ſhips ſailed from Swally, and *Feb.* proceeded as uſual down the coaſt. On the 29th they took a Portugueſe ſhip; and on the 3d of March anchored at *March.* Callicut, where the SAMORIN, always at enmity, and now at war with that nation, having heard, from the merchants of

1616. *March.* his own port, the fame of captain Downton's defence at Surat in the preceding year, ſent his miniſter to invite the Engliſh general, Keeling, to meet him at Crangainore, which he was beſieging. In the way thither, the ſhips took another prize; and, on receiving a hoſtage for the viſit, Keeling went on ſhore. The Samorin received him with much complacence, and requeſted to enter into a league with the Engliſh nation; which was concluded on the 8th, and expreſſed in proviſional promiſes, opening with theſe words: "As I have been ever "an enemy to the Portugueſe, ſo do I purpoſe to continue "for ever." He then "promiſes to give the fort and iſland "of Crangainore, when taken, with nine mile of the coaſt; "but reſerves a houſe, and the reſidence of a hundred of his "own people in the iſland; engageth to take Cochin, with "the aid of the Engliſh, and to give it them, with the whole "kingdom; but the charge and ſpoil of the capture to be "equally ſhared; and laſtly, exempts them from all duties "and cuſtoms throughout his dominions: the terms to be "perpetual:" which induced Keeling to leave three factors, with a youth, to manage ſome trade, and a gunner to ſerve the Samorin. The ſhips ſailed from Crangainore on the 10th of March, when one went off for England; the other three took two more prizes before they quitted the coaſt, when ſeparating, two went for Atchin, and the other for Bantam. The Samorin, inſtead of favouring the factors he had invited to remain in his country, exacted preſents from them, and they

they were glad to get away with their goods to Callicut, 1616.
where they took up their reſidence in April, and met with all *April.*
diſcouragement, excepting open violence, which was ſometimes threatened, in conſequence of their own indiſcretions. Such was the origin of the factory at Callicut, which has continued ever ſince.

Sultan Currom and Aſiph Jah not only continued their oppoſition to the demands of ſir Thomas Roe, but even treated him more than once with ill manners, in the preſence of the emperor; who repaired their affronts by the conſtant courteſy of his own behaviour, but decided nothing in the buſineſs; which, left at large to its enemies, they introduced deputies from the Portugueſe government, with preſents, and the offer of other jewels of rare value, at low prices; and by holding out the trade of the Red-ſea, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, as dependant on the will of the Portugueſe, turned the reſpect of the court to their alliance, and excited equal averſion towards the Engliſh, inſomuch that ſir Thomas Roe had made no progreſs in the treaty at the end of July, when *July.*
he received a phirmaund from Mahobet Caun at Brampore, granting all the immunities he had requeſted of him for the trade of Broach*; by which, beſides other advantages, a ſaving

* The words of ſir Thomas Roe will beſt deſcribe his opinion of the validity of theſe privileges: to which we ſhall add what more may be pertinent to this diſcuſſion.

" The two and twentieth (of July 1616) I received letters from Brampore, " in anſwer of thoſe to Mahobet Chan, who at *firſt* (requeſt) granted my deſire,

1616. *July* saving was procured in the cuſtoms alone of one thouſand five hundred pounds a year; and the grant was not likely to

" making his firman to BAROOCH moſt effectual to receive our nation, and to " give them a houſe near the governor; ſtrictly commanding no man to moleſt " them by ſea or land, or to take *any cuſtome* of them, or any way trouble them " under colour thereof. Finally, that they might buy, ſell, and tranſport any " commodity at their pleaſures, without any moleſtation, concluding, that " they ſhould expect to hear no other from him, and therefore they ſhould be " careful in execution. I received with it a letter from himſelf, which was more " civility than all the Indies yielded me, full of courteſie and humanity, and " great reſpect, proteſting his deſire to give me content, and that what I had " demanded, I ſhould make no doubt of performance: and if I had any other " occaſion to uſe him, he deſired me to write, and it ſhould be performed. The " copies are worthy the ſeeing, for the rareneſs of the phraſe. The firman " I cauſed to be ſent to Surat (in order to be forwarded by the agency there to " Broach): *ſo that* BOROOCH *is provided for a good retreat from the* PRINCE'S " *injuries, and the cuſtom given,* whereby fifteen hundred pounds per annum " will be ſaved, beſides all manner of ſearches and extortions. For the per- " formance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men confeſs, that he " neither careth for the prince, and ſo feareth not, nor needeth any man, being " the only beloved man of the king, and ſecond perſon in his dominions, and " in all his life ſo liberal of his purſe, and honourable of his word, that he hath " ingroſſed good reports from all others: and concerning *cuſtome,* the king " takes none, the governors make it their profit, which he profeſſeth to ſcorn, " that he ſhould abuſe the liberty of the king's ports."

We cannot diſcover what office in the ſtate was held by Mahobet Caun, which entitled him to give this patent for Broach: he is mentioned by ſir Thomas Roe as one of the principal generals in the army commanded by Sultan Parviz and Chan Chanan at Brampore, but could ſcarcely be the governor of this city, ſince ſir Thomas Roe was treated there with neglect and ſlight, when on his journey to Azmir, in 1615; at which time Ahmedabad was governed by Abdalla Caun, and Surat belonged to Sultan Currom. Sir Thomas Herbert, who arrived at Surat in 1626, when mentioning the revolt of Sultan Currom in April 1622, and his march to ſeize the caſtle of Agra, ſays, "The " PRINCE immediately commands all his officers out of ſuch provinces as his " father *had aſſigned him* from Brampore to Surat, and all Cambaya to Ama- " dabat, the governors of BAROCH, *Jaunbaſſer, Medapore,* and of the maritime " coaſt, *Goga, Diul, Nayſary, Mangerelpore,* and *Ormepore;* as alſo out of " Mando,

to be repealed during the life of Gehanghire, from the high respect and esteem in which he had always held the exalted character of Mahobet Caun. 1616.

The emperor's birth-day fell on the 2d of September; and at the assembly of congratulation, sir Thomas Roe told Asiph Jah, the vizier, that having now waited seven months without effect, he should, on the morrow, request the emperor to declare the causes of the delay, and what he really meant to grant. Asiph Jah apologized, imputing the hindrance to the preparations for the feast (which as usual had superseded all other attentions) but promised, now it was over, to expedite *Sept.*

" Mando, Ganderfee, Oudepore, Baraer, Amnadagar, &c. in an enterprise so " full of peril, desirous to engage and bring them under like hazard, the better " to oblige their future dependance upon his fortunes: and so, with no less than " seventy thousand horse, he marches towards Mando, as if he intended a con- " trary progress." If this account be authentic, BROACH and Surat were under the same government in 1622; and so they seem to have been in 1614, by the applications of captain Downton, on his arrival, to the government of Surat, for the redress of grievances at BROACH.

" In quondam times," says sir Thomas Herbert, " the royalties of BROACH " were spacious, as sovereignizing over many towns and provinces of note a " great way distant; as *Medapore*, seventy miles thence, *Radgeepore* or *Bro-* " *dera*, eighty; *Jownbasser*, thirty; and *Janagar*, in Soret; each of which now " enjoys peculiar podestates: howbeit, the Mogul has received hereout, as an " annual tax or tribute, no less than one million two hundred and threescore " thousand mammooders (or shillings in our money) which revenue, from one " province, shews what a vast exchequer all his empire yearly contributeth." Sixty thousand pounds was then the annual revenue of BROACH; and Jehangire, from policy as well as particular affection, might have entrusted this government to the integrity of Mahobet Caun, by a special commission; for Ahmedabad and Surat were in the hands of rapine. Sir Thomas Herbert, as well as Mr. Dow, gives the whole life of Jehangire; and in the latter revolution of this reign, MAHOBET CAUN appears the greatest captain and character in the empire. Leisure may be amused by comparing the accounts of these two writers.

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1616. *Sept.* the privileges he ſolicited before all other buſineſs: but in the diſcuſſion which enſued by appointment, Aſiph Jah at laſt declared, that ſeeing the terms were ſo drawn as to exempt the Engliſh, and their trade at Surat, from any dependance on the authority of Sultan Currom, he himſelf would never give his conſent to them. Sir Thomas Roe kept his temper, offered to make a new model, and ſent it, with requeſt that it might receive the ſeal, or he be permitted to receive the denial from the emperor, and ſo depart the country. Aſiph Jah refuſed the ſeal, but offered Sultan Currom's phirmaund, which he ſaid would be ſufficient. Sir Thomas, ſeeing no better reſource, changed his ground, and adopted the appearance of relying entirely on the Sultan's favour; to whoſe ſecretary, *Socorolla*, he had ſent four articles* to be expedited for the uſe of the factory at Surat, when the ſhips expected from England ſhould arrive: he accordingly attended the Durbar, or public audience of the Sultan, on the 10th, who, not without haughtineſs, delivered the phirmaund in which the articles were altered and abridged. Socorolla bore the repute of an honeſt man, who took no bribes. Sir Thomas viſited him, and repreſented the objections; on which he admitted the firſt meanings, and gave a phirmaund, expreſſed in very effectual terms, and with it a letter to the governor of Surat, commanding the cuſtom-maſter to pay for fifty pieces of broad cloth, which he had purchaſed many months before

*Theſe articles are not publiſhed in ſir Thomas Roe's journal.

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of the factory, and wanted to return, becauſe the price had fallen. He likewiſe frankly explained the Sultan's wiſh, that ſir Thomas Roe ſhould rely on him in the buſineſſes of his own government, inſtead of croſſing him by requeſts to the emperor: in which caſe he would be found a better friend than ſir Thomas expected: who repaid theſe profeſſions by a viſit to the Sultan. 1616. *Septemb.*

On the 25th of September arrived four ſhips from England, which left the land's-end on the 13th of March, in company with two others; of which one ſeparated during a violent gale of wind in the bay of Biſcay, and the other tarried behind at the Cape; but both at length got ſafe to Bantam, whither they were bound. The four ſhips were under the command of general Joſeph, a brave and long experienced mariner, and came on, as all * which had hitherto come to Surat, through *March.*

* They were

The Hector, captain Hawkins, in 1607, 1608.

The Aſcenſion, captain Alexander Sharpeigh, in 1608, 1609.

The Trade's Increaſe, the Pepper-Corn, the Darling, under ſir Henry Middleton, in 1610, 1611.

The Dragon and Hoſiander, under captain Beſt, in 1612.

The Expedition, captain Chriſtopher Newport, which went to Guadel and Diulſinde, but did not come on to Surat, in 1613.

The New Year's Gift, the Hector, the Merchant's Hope, the Salomon, under captain Nicholas Downton, in 1614, 1615.

The Expedition, Dragon, Lyon, Pepper-Corn, which brought ſir Thomas Roe. This fleet was commanded by captain Keeling; the voyage written by Walter Peyton, captain of the Expedition, in 1615, 1616.

The ſhips which arrived this year 1616, and had ſailed under the command of captain Joſeph, were, the Charles, the Unicorn, the James, the Globe.

the

1616. the inner channel between Madagaſcar and the main; at the head of which, amongſt the iſlands of Comora, they deſcried, *Auguſt.* at day-break of the 5th of Auguſt, a carrack of enormous ſize, bearing the Portugueſe flag at the main-top-maſt head, and ſteering the ſame courſe. The Globe, which ſailed the beſt, but was the ſmalleſt of Joſeph's ſquadron, chaſed, came up at noon to windward, hailed, and received opprobrious language, with a command to fall to leeward; which not doing, the carrack fired five great ſhot, each of which went through her, whilſt ſhe returned eighteen, of much leſs effect, and fell aſtern. The carrack was commanded by Don Manuel de Meneſes, admiral of three, which had ſailed this year from Liſbon bound to Goa. At three in the afternoon, captain Joſeph came up in his ſhip the Charles, which was of one thouſand tons; and hailing, bid the commander of the carrack come on board to account for his attack on the Globe; but was anſwered, that he had no boat; on which he ſent his own, which brought three officers with a meſſage, "that "Don Meneſes had promiſed his maſter, the king of Spain, "not to quit his ſhip; out of which he might be forced, but "never commanded." Joſeph repeated the ſummons in writing; and ſaid to the officers, "that he would ſink by his "ſide, or compel him." Meneſes perſiſted; the fight began; in a few minutes a ſhot killed captain Joſeph; the maſter continued the engagement half an hour; when night approaching, he fell off to call a council; and captain Pepwell,

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of the James, who was the vice-admiral, took the command of the Charles, and the ſquadron. Meneſes kept out a light to direct his enemies; but the next morning, of the 7th, was at anchor ſo near the ſhore, that Pepwell did not deem it prudent to attack him in that ſituation. In the evening Meneſes ſet ſail, leading out to the open ſea; and when dark, again hoiſted his light, which led to the encounter at ſun-riſe. 1616. *Sept.* *Auguſt.*

Captain Pepwell had inſtructed his ſhips to engage by turns, and began himſelf in the Charles; which had not continued half an hour, when a bullet from the carrack ſtruck one of the iron guns, which ſhivered it: its fragments could not have choſen better execution; for, beſides dangerouſly wounding three of the common ſeamen, and tearing the maſter's arm, one piece struck out the eye of captain Pepwell, and two others wounded him in the jaw and leg. The mate took up the command of his diſabled ſuperiors, and deſerved it, maintaining the fight with vengeance beyond the ſhare of time; when the other ſhips took their turns with the ſame ardour; which the carrack reſiſted until three in the afternoon, by which time her main-maſt and mizen-maſt were brought by the board, her fore-top-maſt ſhot away, and her ſides ſhattered into ſeveral breaches. The iſland of Angazija was not far off, to which ſhe turned with what little ſail ſhe could ſet, and ſtood in ſo near the ſhore, that the Engliſh ſhips would not venture to follow her cloſe; but a boat was ſent with Mr. Connock, the principal merchant, and a flag of

1616. *Sept. August.* truce, as a ſignal of parley, which was accepted by another. Meneſes received Mr. Connock with courteſy; but was not moved, either by the offers, or admiration due to his valour, to deſiſt from his firſt reſolve; and ſaid that if able, he would get out to ſea again on the morrow, and renew the fight; when, if taken, he expected the treatment of a gentleman *. In the night the wind and ſurf grew high; the carrack drove, and, for want of ſail to weather the danger, ſtruck, and was jammed between two rocks; which ſtretching inward within a ſtep of the ſhore, relieved the crew from the ſolicitude of their own preſervation, and gave them time to ſet the carrack on fire, which blazed amain at midnight. They carried off what they choſe of the treaſure, of which the whole on board was to a great amount, and all the jewels. The Engliſh ſhips kept near throughout the next day, in hopes of gleaning valuable drifts, but took up nothing; and bore away for refreſhment to the neighbouring iſland of Mohila, where they arrived on the 10th. The natives of Angazija regarded the crew of the ſhipwreck as invaders, and aſſailed them with ſtones; but ceaſed on the diſplay and offer of preſents, until they had received them; when, inſtead of returning proviſions, they renewed their attacks; on which the Portugueſe employed their hand-guns, and loſt, in the retreat of the natives, the only hopes of ſuſtenance. In this diſtreſs the admi-

* FARIA ſays, he threatened to hang the next perſon who ſhould bring him a propoſal of ſurrender.

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ral Meneſes yielded to the advice of his cannoneer, as more practiſed in the voyages of India, to throw their guns into the ſea; when the natives returned in great numbers, and overpowered them; and then ſtripped them of all their clothes and raiment, ſetting ſo much value on every thing which might ſerve for their own, that they threw away the dollars, in order to put their heads into the empty bags. The Portugueſe wandered in different companies to gain food; many endured much diſtreſs, and ſome died; but all were protected by their nakedneſs from farther inſult. The pilot, and a few more, went in the boat (for, notwithſtanding the firſt denial to captain Joſeph, they had one) and coaſted to find a more hoſpitable ſhore; they fortunately met two junks belonging to a Mahomedan, which came from *Pate* on the main, and were going for trade to Madagaſcar. This man took up the boat, and, having influence with the chief of that part of the iſland where the ſhip was wrecked, ſailed thither, collected all the Portugueſe, clothed them, gathered their treaſure, ſecured their jewels, and ſent them away in his own veſſels to their own port of Mombaze, where they arrived on the 4th of September, and were afterwards conveyed to Goa. Here the valour and misfortunes of Meneſes were received by the viceroy, Azevedo, and the city, with the higheſt veneration; he was ſent back to Liſbon in an advice-boat, and arrived ſafe, to receive the ſame acknowledgments in his own country. And indeed his defeat merited a trophy of victory; for his 1616. *Sept.*

1616. *Sept.* force bore no proportion to the Engliſh ſhips*; of which nevertheleſs, either of the ſtrongeſt would probably have maintained an equal conflict againſt the ſame ſuperiority; for at this time the higheſt ſpirit of military honour animated all the officers and ſeamen of the COMPANY'S marine.

On the 24th, ſir Thomas received intelligence of the arrival of the four ſhips at Swally, with the letters to himſelf; and preſented the compliments of his ſovereign to the emperor; who hurried through the mere decent enquiries, to queſtion what preſents the KING had ſent, hoping jewels; but diſappointed, aſked for velvets; and was much pleaſed that two dogs had eſcaped the fight; of which he ſpoke with praiſe; but was much vexed that the great horſe had not come, and offered a lack of rupees if ſir Thomas Roe would procure him one; who requeſted that the preſents might be ſent up without ſearch, or tax, and that the people of the ſhips might receive good uſage. The emperor ſaid, the port

* Edward Terry, who was afterwards chaplain to ſir Thomas Roe, ſailed in the *Charles*, which he calls a "new built goodly ſhip of a thouſand tons; the "Unicorn, a new ſhip likewiſe, and almoſt of as great a burthen; the James, a "great ſhip too;" the Globe, a leſſer. He likewiſe ſays, that "ſeven hundred "men ſailed in the *Carrack*, for ſhe was a ſhip of exceeding great bulk and bur-"den: our *Charles*, though a ſhip of a thouſand tons, looking but like a pin-"nace, when ſhe was beſide her." Alſo, that only five men were killed in the fight, three in the *Charles*, two in the *James*, and about twenty wounded in all the four ſhips.

Sir Thomas Roe ſays, that "the Carrack was of fifteen hundred tons burthen;" and that "Don Emanuel de Meneſes had twice been general of *their* forces;" but not in India, where he neither appears before or after this voyage.

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of Surat was his ſon's; but ſent for him, and gave poſitive orders in public concerning the preſents and people, conformably to ſir Thomas Roe's deſire. 1616. Sept.

The company, although they had approved, and perhaps ſolicited, the embaſſy of ſir Thomas Roe, had not empowered him to controul the conduct of their own ſervants at Surat and its dependencies; who ſeem to have availed themſelves of this exemption, with much leſs reſpect than was due to ſuch a character *. The ſhips now arrived, brought orders to proſecute the intention of eſtabliſhing a trade in the kingdom of Perſia, although the ſucceſs of Steele and Crouther, who had been ſent for this purpoſe from Surat in the beginning of the preceding year, was not known in England at the departure of the ſhips. Octob.

Theſe travellers paſſing by Candahar, arrived at Iſpahan on the 18th of September, where they found ſir Robert Shirley on departure to execute another commiſſion from the Sophy.

The means by which the two extraordinary adventurers of that name obtained ſuch important employment from the ableſt and fierceſt ſovereign of the caſt, would not have borne

* "Your factors ſent me four or five clauſes of your commiſſion that concerned Perſia, a fort, a plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not of uſe: with no other propoſition or reſolution they will acquaint me. They cannot abide I ſhould underſtand or direct them. If they reſolve of any thing in their opinion for your profit, I will effect the court-part; but you will find in my letters and journal how they *uſe* me; which doubtleſs at firſt was ſowed by *ſome jealouſy of yours*, which will coſt you dearly."

much

1616. *Octob.* much reſpect in our times, which permit no enthuſiaſms to cover or conſecrate the latent views of luxurious ambition. ANTHONY SHIRLEY, the elder brother of Robert, was a dependant on the Earl of Eſſex, who ſent him, in 1598, with ſome ſoldiers to fight for the duke of Ferara againſt the pope; but, by the time they arrived in Italy, the quarrel was reconciled. Eſſex nevertheleſs, unwilling that his knight ſhould return to England with the deriſion of having done nothing, not only conſented to his propoſal of proceeding to Perſia with offer of ſervice to Shah Abbas, whoſe fame had ſpread with much renown throughout Europe; but alſo furniſhed him with money and bills for the journey. SHIRLEY embarked from Venice, in May 1599, with twenty-five followers, ſome of education, all of reſolution, and amongſt them his brother Robert, at that time a youth. After various eſcapes by ſea and land, they arrived at Aleppo, where getting money for their bills, they proceeded in the company of a large caravan to Bagdad, Shirley profeſſing himſelf a merchant, who expected goods by the next; but this pretence, and the number of his retinue, excited ſuſpicions, and all he brought was ſeized at the cuſtom-houſe; which reduced them to live on the piece-meal ſale of the clothes they wore: his anxiety in this ſituation was obſerved by a Florentine named Victorio Spiciera, who was proceeding to Ormus in order to embark for China, and had frequently converſed with Shirley during the journey from Aleppo. He tried by repeated queſtions to

diſcover

diſcover his real condition and purpoſe, but failing, made up his own conjectures, that Shirley intended ſome ſignal miſchief either againſt the Turkiſh empire, or the ſovereignty of the Portugueſe in India, of which the one was as deteſtable to his piety, as the other to his traffic: from theſe motives, mixed perhaps with admiration of a character, which knew to perſonate romantic dignity, the Florentine determined not only to extricate him from the dangers of his preſent ſituation, but enable him to proſecute his views, whatſoever they might be. The emergency preſſed: for the ſecond caravan from Aleppo was come within ten days of Bagdad, and Spiciera knew, that when the goods which Shirley had pretended to expect, ſhould not appear, he and all his followers would be doomed to impriſonment, if not worſe. Fortunately, a caravan returning from Mecca to Perſia arrived at this time, and encamped under the walls. Spiciera hired amongſt them camels, horſes, with all other neceſſaries of travel, and when the caravan was ready to depart, revealed to Shirley the dangers which awaited him, and the meaſures he had taken for his preſervation and ſucceſs, confirming theſe aſſurances by the delivery of a great ſum in gold, and many rarities of great value; ſo much in the whole amount, that Shirley declines to mention it, becauſe he ſays it would not be believed. The Florentine left it to his honour to repay him when he could; and, for five days after the departure of the caravan, diverted ſuſpicions of his eſcape by living in Shirley's houſe, 1616. *Octob.*

to

1616. *Octob.* to whom he pretended to have lent his own, that he might recover in more quiet from a fit of illneſs; he even requeſted the governor for his phyſician, knowing he had none; but was afterwards fined ſeverely for theſe generous colluſions.

Fifty janiſaries were ſent in purſuit of Shirley, but miſſed the caravan; which employed fifty days on the march to Caſbin; where the aids of Spiciera enabled Shirley to equip himſelf and followers in ſumptuous array, to live ſplendidly, and to make preſents; which procured commendations to Shah Abbas, who arrived at Caſbin a month after, and was ſaluted by Shirley and his company at his entrance into the city, when the king diſtinguiſhed him with the moſt honourable notice. The next day Shirley ſent the king a preſent of jewels and Italian rarities, which were not only curious, but coſtly beyond the expectation of homage; and the more he profeſſed, that he had come to offer his ſervice on his own account, and at his own expence, the more the king inclined to believe, that the denial was intended, by concealing, to heighten the elegant compliment of his monarch; and at all events could not reſiſt the complacence of regarding the reſort of this band of ſtrangers as a ſignal proof of the great extent of his own fame; which Shirley took care on all occaſions to inculcate.

It was the way of Shah Abbas, to diſcern thoſe he employed, by familiarities. Shirley was ſolemn in behaviour, pompous

pompous in elocution, quick in apprehenſion, and guarded in argument; and having ſerved both at land and ſea, was capable of ſuggeſting the military ideas of Europe; which could not fail to attract the attention of a monarch whoſe ruling paſſion was the fame of war: he even viſited Shirley in his houſe, to examine a book of fortifications; and having, during a daily converſe of ſix weeks, treated him more with the reſpect of a gueſt, than the diſtance of a ſolicitor, on the very day before his departure to Caſſan, declared him a *Mirza*, or lord, in his ſervice, and referred him to the treaſurer; who, as ſoon as the king was gone, ſent to Shirley a preſent, which conſiſted of money to the amount of ſixteen thouſand ducats, forty horſes, all accoutred; two, intended for his brother and himſelf, with ſaddles plated with gold, and ſet with rubies and torquoiſes; the others, with ſilver and embroidered velvet; twelve camels laden with tents, and all furniture, not only for the field, but for his houſe in Caſbin, which likewiſe was beſtowed on him: he was ordered to follow the king to Caſſan, from whence he accompanied him to Iſpahan, and was treated by him with the ſame deference as before he had accepted his ſervice. 1616. *Octob.*

Daily and artful ſuggeſtions prepared the way to the advice which Shirley had long premeditated, that the king ſhould renew the war againſt the Turks, and depute an embaſſador to excite the princes of Chriſtendom to co-operate by land and ſea from the weſt, whilſt Perſia invaded the

1616. *Octob.* Turkiſh territories on the eaſt: this commiſſion Shirley deſigned for himſelf, but avoided the mention. Nevertheleſs this intention was penetrated by the vizir, and ſeveral other of the principal noblemen, who ſaid that the propoſal was the artful ſcheme of a needy adventurer, ſeeking the ſumptuous enjoyment of exalted fortune at the riſk of an empire; but the king inclined to the war, which he regarded as inevitable; and reaſoned, that if the miſſion of Shirley ſhould be ineffectual, the detriment would be no more than the loſs of the expence, which he foreſaw would, even in this event, increaſe the reputation of his magnificence, without diminiſhing the ſolid eſtimation of his abilities.

But whilſt he was weighing in his own mind the ultimate probabilities of ſucceſs, two incidents intervened, which were of oppoſite tendency to each other in the deciſion of this important queſtion.

The Portugueſe at Ormus, who with all their poſſeſſions in the eaſt, as well as their ſtate in Europe, were at this time ſubject to the king of Spain, had ſtopped a preſent of thirteen female ſlaves, which the Great Mogul, Acbar, had ſent to Shah Abbas, and nine others which had been purchaſed for Alaverdi Khan, the military favourite of Shah Abbas, who had hitherto encouraged the ſchemes of Shirley; but this injury changed his opinions, and urged him to join with Shirley's opponents in repreſentations, that it would be vain for the king to place any reliance on the chriſtian princes in Europe,

Europe, ſince the ſubjects of one of them, from whoſe alliance much was expected, had dared to commit ſuch an outrage againſt his majeſty, at the very gate, as it were, of his own dominions. 1616. *Octob.*

The other event, was the arrival and conduct of an embaſſador from the Grand Signior, who came from Bagdad, where he commanded the janiſaries of the garriſon. This man, in a very pompous ſpeech at his audience, required the king to reſtore the prince of Choraſan and his people, whom he had lately ſubdued, to their former ſtate and condition; and demanded the return of ten thouſand families, which had quitted their country under the Turk, to ſeek refuge in that part of Curdiſtan which was ſubject to Perſia. To theſe imperious demands, he added reaſons, arguments, and advice, in terms which would have been inſulting even from a pedagogue to his pupil. The king anſwered with temperate magnanimity, in what related to his own rights, againſt the demands of the Grand Signior, and bid the embaſſador depart, as a fool unfit to be employed on the buſineſs he had been ſent: he appeared no more.

The next morning the king went to Shirley's houſe, and entered fully into the diſcuſſion of the war and embaſſy to Europe, affecting to expect little hope from it, but to comply merely as a teſtimony of his extreme regard to Shirley, from whom he had received ſuch undoubted proof of his own, by the fatigue and expence of his journey to Perſia, and the

1616. *Octob.* riſques to which he now offered to expoſe himſelf for his ſervice. Shirley, in a very long diſcourſe, explained all the probabilities of his plan: that the emperor of Germany was already at war with the Turks; that the pope would excite all the other catholic princes; that the king of Spain was at continual enmity with the government of Algiers, which was ſubſervient to the Turkiſh empire; that the invitations of the king would attract merchants, and chriſtians of all other arts, trades, and occupations, who would not only increaſe the commerce of his country, but introduce new methods and inventions of great utility, eſpecially to the improvement of his warfare; and that the liberal ſchiſm of religion, which the king wiſhed to promote as a deſcendant of Sefi, between his own ſubjects and the Turks, would be encouraged by the intercourſe of chriſtians, whom they would be accuſtomed to ſee drinking wine, and exerciſing other tolerances, which the Turks held in deteſtation.

The king ſtill cautiouſly avoided any expreſſions which might indicate much expectation, or any ſolicitude of aſſiſtance from the chriſtian princes; in which he properly maintained his own dignity, by not truſting to the report of a ſtranger ſuch a confeſſion of the hopes or wiſhes he might entertain; but appeared much content with the probability of drawing European merchants to his country; for the increaſe of its trade had long been a principal attention of his government. On this ground he conſented to the embaſſy,

and required Shirley to undertake it; who, after many apologies of his inſufficiency, accepted the commiſſion with as much ſatisfaction as he had pretended diffidence. Shirley requeſted, that a young nobleman of diſtinction, named Aſſan Cawn, might accompany him, to be the witneſs of his conduct; which was granted, but ſoon after revoked by reaſon of his marriage with an aunt of the king; when Shirley, to conciliate the vizir, and other miniſters, accepted Cuchin Allabi, a man of ordinary rank, and ſuſpected character. As Shirley could not paſs through the Turkiſh dominions to Aleppo, excepting in diſguiſe, it was reſolved that he ſhould proceed through Ruſſia; which at this time was ſo little frequented by travellers, and ſo ſuſpicious of them, that the king ſent forward one of his officers as an embaſſador to the Czar, in order to announce his miſſion, and to procure him good reception through the country. 1616. *Octob.*

The day before the day appointed for his departure, the king viſited him, as if to recapitulate all the points of the various negociations which he had entruſted to his conduct; and now, with his uſual foreſight and ſagacity, broke his laſt propoſal, which, although dictated by warrantable ſuſpicion, he clothed with the garb of elegant compliment. It was, that Robert Shirley ſhould remain at his court during his brother's abſence. Robert was preſent; and, without waiting his brother's anſwer, proffered himſelf to remain. This reſolution produced a new arrangement in the retinue of Anthony;

and

1616. *Octob.* and ſeveral of his Engliſh followers were left with Robert. The king, as the laſt compliment, according to Shirley's relation, rode with him, when he ſet out, ſix miles on the way from Iſpahan; and then, he ſays, took leave of him, not without tears; although they had never ſpoke to one another, but through an interpreter.

The travellers were two months, not without evil chances, before they had paſſed the Caſpian to Aſtrachan, where they found the embaſſador, ſent to the Czar * * * *

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* *This curious tract was left unfiniſhed by the Author.*

GENERAL IDEA

OF THE

GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE

OF

INDOSTAN.

BY

ROBERT ORME.

September 1ſt, 1753.

Some ſmall parts of this ESSAY, *and of the ſubſequent one, on the* EFFEMINACY OF THE INHABITANTS OF INDOSTAN, *are printed in the* DISSERTATION *prefixed to the firſt volume of the* MILITARY TRANSACTIONS *of the* BRITISH NATION *in Indoſtan: but the* WHOLE *is here reprinted from the Author's manuſcripts, that the narrative may not be broken into.*

PREFACE.

ALL general ideas are ſubject to exceptions, and I doubt not but that ſeveral may be made to this General Deſcription of the Government and People of Indoſtan. But if the far greater number of the examples which may be produced, are correſpondent to my obſervations, the intent of giving a general idea is anſwered.

I can only ſay in favour of the following ſheets, that they are the reſult of an attention given to this ſubject during a reſidence of ſeveral years in India; and that although I may be deceived myſelf, I can have no end in miſleading others.

I am of opinion, that ſome reflections, of no mean importance to the commerce of the Indies, may be drawn from an attention to this work.

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OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDOSTAN.

BOOK I.

CAP. I.

Nature of the Government of Indoſtan in general.

WHOEVER conſiders the vaſt extent of the empire of Indoſtan, will eaſily conceive, that the influence of the emperor, however deſpotic, can but faintly reach thoſe parts of his dominion which lay at the greateſt diſtance from his capital.

This extent has occaſioned the diviſion of the whole kingdom into diſtinct provinces, over each of which the *Mogul* appoints a *Vice Roy*.

Theſe Vice Roys are, in their provinces, called *Nabobs*; and their territories are again ſubdivided into particular diſtricts, many of which are under the government of *Rajahs*. Theſe are the deſcendants of ſuch *Gentoo Princes*, who, before the conqueſt of the kingdom, ruled over the ſame diſtricts.

The Gentoos, having vaſtly the ſuperiority in numbers throughout the kingdom, have obliged the Moors to ſubmit to this regulation in their government.

The Nabobs ought annually to remit to the throne the revenues of their provinces, which are either aſcertained at a fixed ſum, or are to be the total produce of the country, authen-

authenticated by regular accounts, after deductions made for the expences of the government.

If the officers of the throne are ſatisfied, which is oftener effected by intrigue, than by the juſtice of his adminiſtration, the Nabob continues in favour; if not, another is appointed to ſucceed him.

A new appointed Nábob ſet out from Delhi, riding with his back turned to the head of his elephant: his attendants aſked him the reaſon of that uncuſtomary poſture; he ſaid that he was looking out for his ſucceſſor.

On the temper of the Nabob or his favourites, depends the happineſs or miſery of the province. On the temper of the King or his miniſters, depends the ſecurity of the Nabob and his favourites.

The *Rajahs* who govern in particular diſtricts, are, notwithſtanding their hereditary right, ſubject to the caprice and power of the Nabob, as the army is with him.

Even this appointment of Vice Roys was found too weak a repreſentation of the Royal Power in the extreme parts of the kingdom; to which orders from the court are three months in arriving.

This inſurmountable inconvenience occaſioned the ſubjecting ſeveral provinces, with their diſtinct Nabobs, to the authority of one, who is deemed the higheſt repreſentative of the *Mogul*.

Princes of this rank are called *Subahs*. NIZAMALMULUCK was Subah of the *Decan* (or ſouthern) provinces. He had

under his government all the countries laying to the ſouth of *Aurengabad*, bordered on the weſt by the *Morattoes* and the *Malabar* coaſt, to the eaſtward extending to the ſea. The Nabobs of *Condanore*, *Cudapah*, *Carnatica*, *Valore*, &c. the Kings of *Tritchinopoly*, *Myſore*, *Tanjore*, are ſubject to this *Subahſhip*. Here is a ſubject ruling a larger empire than any in Europe, excepting that of the *Muſcovite*.

The conſequence of ſo large a dominion at ſuch a diſtance from the capital has been, that an active, wily prince, could overwhelm the empire itſelf, which NIZAMALMULUCK actually did, by bringing THAMAS KOULI KHAN into the kingdom.

ALLAVERDY KHAN the Prince of Bengal is a *Subah*. He too lies at a vaſt diſtance from Delhi. He is a great warrior, and has never paid the court any tribute. The Morattoes were ſent as *free-booters* into his country, to divert him from attempting the throne itſelf. He has, notwithſtanding, been able to add to his dominion the whole province of *Patna*, which before was dependant only on the King. His relations are at this time the Nabobs of that province.

Thus the contumacy of *Vice-regents* reſiſting their ſovereign, or battling amongſt themſelves, is continually productive of ſuch ſcenes of bloodſhed, and of ſuch deplorable devaſtations, as no other nation in the univerſe is ſubject to.

If the ſubjects of a deſpotic power are every where miſerable, the miſeries of the people of Indoſtan are multiplied

tiplied by the incapacity of the power to controul the vaſt extent of its dominion.

CAP. II.

Particular Government of the Provinces.

Every province is governed by a ſubordination of Officers, who hold from no other power than that of the *Nabob.*

Nabob (derived from *Naib*, a word ſignifying deputy) is a title which, at Delhi, none but thoſe who are ſtyled thus in a commiſſion given by the King, dare to aſſume. In diſtant provinces *Nabobs* have governed, who have been regiſtered as dead at Delhi. A Nabob, although appointed by a Subah, ought to have his commiſſion confirmed by the King, or one with an authentic commiſſion appears to ſupplant him. He then depends upon his own force, or the ſupport of his Subah, and a war between the competitors enſues.

A Nabob is ſo far deſpotic in his government, as he can rely upon the protection of his ſovereign or his ſuperior. Secure of this, he has nothing to apprehend, but poiſon or aſſaſſination from the treachery or reſentment of his ſubjects.

Nabobs more particularly attach themſelves to the command of the army, and leave the civil adminiſtration to the *Duan.*

Duan—

Duan is properly the judge of the province in civil matters. This office is commonly devolved on a Gentoo, in provinces which by their vicinity or importance to the throne, are more immediately ſubject to its attention. This officer holds his commiſſion from the King. But by the nature of the government of Indoſtan, where all look only to one head, he is never more than an aſſiſtant: he may be a ſpy; he cannot be a rival to the power of the Nabob.

He therefore comprehends in his perſon the offices of *Prime Miniſter*, *Lord Chancellor*, and *Secretary of State*, without preſuming to adviſe, judge, or iſſue orders, but according to the will of his maſter, or to the influence which he has over it. Under the Duan is an officer called the *Buggſhi*, or *Buxey*, who is the paymaſter of the troops, and the diſburſer of all the public expences of the government.—This muſt be a poſt of great advantage. The *Buxey* has under him an *Amuldar*, who is the overſeer and manager of all the occaſions of expence.

Revenues, impoſts, and taxes, are levied throughout the country, by the appearance, if not by the force of the ſoldiers. The other officers of the province are therefore more immediately military.

Phouſdar ſignifies the commander of a detached body of the army, and in the military government, is a title next to that of the Nabob. As the governors of particular parts of

the province have always ſome troops under their command, ſuch governors are called *Phouſdars*; although very often the Nabob himſelf holds no more than this rank at the court of Delhi, from whence all addreſſes to the rulers of inferior provinces, make uſe only of this term.

Pollygar, from the word *Pollum*, which ſignifies a town ſituated in a wood, is the governor of ſuch a town and the country about it; and is likewiſe become the title of all who rule any conſiderable town, commanding a large diſtrict of land. This term is only uſed on the coaſt of Coromandel. In other provinces of the empire, all ſuch governors paſs under the general title of *Zemindars*.

A *Havildar* is the officer placed by the government to ſuperintend a ſmall village.

The Havildar plunders the village, and is himſelf fleeced by the Zemindar; the Zemindar by the Phouſdar; the Phouſdar by the Nabob, or his Duan. The Duan is the Nabob's head ſlave: and the Nabob compounds on the beſt terms he can make, with his Subah, or the throne.

Wherever this gradation is interrupted, bloodſhed enſues.

Kellidar is the governor or commander of a fort.

Munſubbar is now a title of honour held from the throne, and exalted according to the number of horſemen which he is permitted in his commiſſion to command. There are *Munſubbars* of ten thouſand, and others of two hundred

and fifty. This title originally ſignified a commiſſioned officer, who by favour from the throne had obtained a particular diſtrict of lands, to be allotted for his maintenance inſtead of a ſalary.

Zemindar, derived from *Zemin*, the word ſignifying lands, is the proprietor of a tract of land given in inheritance by the King or the Nabob, and who ſtipulates the revenue which he is to pay for the peaceable poſſeſſion of it. Such Zemindars are not now to be frequently met with; but the title every where: it is transferred to all the little ſuperintendants or officers under the Phouſdar.

Cazee is the mahomedan judge eccleſiaſtical, who ſupports and is ſupported by the *Alcoran*. He is extremely venerated.

In treating upon the adminiſtration of juſtice in Indoſtan, farther lights will be thrown upon this ſubject of the government of the provinces.

CAP. III.

Of the Lands.

ALL the lands in the kingdom belong to the King: therefore all the lands in the provinces are ſubject to the Nabob. With him, or his repreſentatives, farmers agree for the cultivation of ſuch an extent, on reſerving to themſelves ſuch a proportion of the produce. This proportion is ſettled ac-

cording to the difficulty or eaſe of raiſing the grain, and ſeldom exceeds a third.

On the coaſt of Coromandel where exceſſive heats and infrequent rains exact the utmoſt labour to bring rice to perfection; if theſe farmers were not mildly dealt with, they would undertake nothing, and the whole country would be famiſhed. Here therefore encouragement is given to them, and the government will ſometimes be at the expence of works to aſſiſt them in the labour of raiſing and conveying water through the land.

The province of Bengal is the moſt fertile of any in the univerſe, more ſo than Egypt, and with greater certainty.—A ſtratum of the richeſt mould upon a bottom of ſand, the equal level of the country, and not a ſtone to be picked up in the ſpace of ſome hundred miles, whilſt ſhells are found every where. Such ſigns declare the ſoil to have been formed by the retreat of the ſea; and in ſuch a ſoil exceſſive rains falling at particular periods, cannot but render the cultivation of it to be ſcarce a labour.

The country about Dacca, where the Ganges diſembogues itſelf by a hundred mouths into the ocean, is alone ſufficient to ſupply the whole province of Bengal with rice: and every other part of the province, if duly cultivated, would produce exceedingly more than its occaſions.

Here therefore the people depend more upon the elements than on themſelves for ſubſiſtence. No encouragements are

given,

given, or regulations made, concerning the grain; and the farmer is as little exempt from violence, as any other ſubject. Nature, at times, will leave her ordinary courſe. If the rice countries fail, the ſevereſt of famines afflicts this land of exceſſive plenty, as no part of the province is cultivated in proportion to the wants of the inhabitants who reſide on it.

This has happened in the year 1752: at Muxadavad the capital of Bengal, rice became ſix times dearer than the uſual price: the conſequence of which, in a country where nine-tenths of the people daily ſpend what they daily earn, may be eaſily conceived.

CAP. IV.

Of the Mechanicks.

THE mechanick or artificer will work only to the meaſure of his neceſſities. He dreads to be diſtinguiſhed. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft, that will be taken from him. If conſpicuous for the excellence of his ſkill, he is ſeized upon by ſome perſon in authority, and obliged to work for him night and day, on much harder terms than his uſual labour acquired when at liberty.

Hence all emulation is deſtroyed; and all the luxury of an Aſiatick empire has not been able to counteract by its propenſity

penſity to magnificence and ſplendour, the diſpiriting effects of that fear which reigns throughout, and without which a deſpotick power would reign no more.

If any improvements have been made in the few years of a milder adminiſtration, they are utterly loſt again when the common methods of government ſucceed.

Hence rudeneſs and inelegance are ſeen in all the works of wealth and magnificence; and Milton has juſtly ſaid,

———The gorgeous eaſt with richeſt hand
Pours on her ſons *Barbaric* pearl and gold.

CAP. V.

Of the Arts and Sciences.

In happier climes, the arts and ſciences have been courted, to heighten the bleſſings of life, or to aſſiſt the labours and wants of it.

But ſuch a ſpirit cannot exiſt where mankind are treated on principles directly contrary to all ideas of their happineſs.

Were the ideas of virtue, morality, and humanity, diſcuſſed by ſuch genii as have enlightened happier nations, notions would ſoon be eſtabliſhed, which would teach men what was due to them—notions which would overſet every principle and every practice of the conſtitution.

Who therefore ſhall dare to make ſuch reſearches his ſtudy or diſcourſe?

We

We cannot therefore admire, that arts and ſciences of all kinds have been able to make no greater progreſs in the empire of Indoſtan.

CAP. VI.

Of the People.

WHERE the human race is ſtruggling through ſuch mighty ills as render its condition ſcarcely ſuperior to that of the brutes of the field; ſhall we not expect to find throughout Indoſtan dreary plains, lands uncultivated, miſerable villages thinly interſperſed, deſolated towns, and the number of inhabitants as much diminiſhed as their miſeries appear multiplied.

On the contrary, we find a people equalling if not exceeding in numbers the moſt populous ſtates, ſuch as enjoy the beſt of governments and the beſt of laws.

Effects of the climate of Indoſtan ſeem to counteract, in favour of the human race, the violences to which it is ſubject from the nature of the government.

1. The ſun forbids the uſe of fuel, and renders the want of rayment to be ſcarcely an inconvenience. 2. The bare earth, with the ſlighteſt hut over it, affords a repoſe without the danger of diſeaſes to a people vaſtly temperate. 3. Productions peculiar to the ſoil of India exceedingly contribute to the eaſe of various labours: a convenient houſe may be built

built in three days, with no other materials than what are furniſhed by the bamboo and kajan: a boat, with all its appurtenances, may be made from the ſingle coco-nut tree; which at the ſame time ſupplies oil, and a nouriſhment in much requeſt; the eaſe of producing and manufacturing cotton is evinced by the plenty and price of linen. 4. Health is beſt preſerved in this climate, by the ſlighteſt and ſimpleſt diet: perhaps it is from this conſideration that religion has forbid the uſe of fleſh meats and ſpirituous liquors amongſt the Gentoos.

Thus the general wants of other climates become extremely leſſened in this. Now if men multiply in proportion to the eaſe of gaining a ſubſiſtence, it will no longer be admired that the kingdom of Indoſtan ſhould, even under the iron ſway of deſpotiſm, continue populous; eſpecially if we add this better fundamental cauſe, which, reſulting like the other from the effects of the climate, is ſtill rendered more effectual by the moſt ſacred of cuſtoms.

In Indoſtan, the fecundity of the women is extreme; and the propenſity of the men to propagate their ſpecies is equal to it. Every Gentoo is by his religion obliged to marry, and is permitted to have more wives than one. It has been proved, that the number of females exceeds that of the males; ſo that a plurality of wives produces not the effect in India, which it is imagined to do in other countries, that of decreaſing the numbers of a people.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

Of the Manufactures.

A people born under a ſun too ſultry to admit the exerciſe and fatigues neceſſary to form a robuſt nation, will naturally, from the weakneſs of their bodies (eſpecially if they have few wants), endeavour to obtain their ſcanty livelihood by the eaſieſt labours.

It is from hence, perhaps, that the manufactures of cloth are ſo multiplied in Indoſtan. Spinning and weaving are the ſlighteſt taſks which a man can be ſet to; and the numbers that do nothing elſe in this country are exceeding.

It is obſervable, that the manufacturers of cloth prevail moſt, both in quantity and perfection, in thoſe provinces where the people are leaſt capable of robuſt labours.

In the northern parts of the kingdom, where the men have more bodily ſtrength, they weave hair, or the coarſeſt of cloths.

On the coaſt of Coromandel, and in the province of Bengal, when at ſome diſtance from the high road, or a principal town, it is difficult to find a village in which every man, woman, and child, is not employed in making a piece of cloth.

The aſſiſtance which a wife and family are capable of affording to the labours of the loom, may have much con-

tributed to the preference given by a lazy people to this manufacture.

The thread is laid the whole length of the piece of cloth: hence the weavers live entirely in villages, as they could work no where elſe in this manner.

A weaver amongſt the Gentoos is no deſpicable caſt. He is next to the ſcribe, and above all the mechanics. He would loſe his caſt, were he to undertake a drudgery which did not immediately relate to his work.

After what has been ſaid of the diſcouragements to which the mechanic of every denomination is ſubject; it may be aſked, in what manner the amazing perfection to which the linen manufacture has been brought in Indoſtan, can be accounted for.

The diſtinctions of dreſs in Indoſtan conſiſt entirely in the fineneſs of the linen of which the habit is made. The habit has at this day the ſame cut which it had a thouſand years ago. Ornaments of gold and ſilver are marks of foppery, which are indulged only to the children: jewels are not wore about the perſon, excepting on particular occaſions, even by the grandees: the richeſt man in the empire affects no other advantage in his dreſs, but that of linen extremely fine. The particularity of this taſte muſt have been a great encouragement to the linen manufacture.

Let it be again obſerved, that at preſent (whatever it may have been formerly) much the greateſt part of whole provinces

vinces are employed in this ſingle manufacture: and this will be allowed another good reaſon for the improvements which have been made in it.

Other trades in Indoſtan are not ſubdivided as they are in Europe, where ſix or ſeven mechanics contribute to the making of a ſingle inſtrument. Here one man makes all the parts himſelf: by which he becomes exceedingly liable to oppreſſion; for when once his ſingle perſon is ſecured, all that is neceſſary is ſecured.

It is quite contrary in regard to the weaver: to this trade ſix or ſeven hands contribute. To get a piece of cloth made by compulſion, a man, with one or two wives, and five or ſix children, muſt be taken up; and inſtead of being confined to a narrow room, muſt be placed in a ſpacious orchard: all this would be vaſtly inconvenient.

If guards were placed upon the village, which is the only method of compulſion that can be uſed, the alarm would be taken; and half the country, by the retreat of theſe people, would be depopulated in a day's time.

But cloth being the ſtaple of the trade of Indoſtan, and trade in general being better encouraged than it uſually is in a deſpotic ſtate; ſuch proceedings would too much injure the public revenues, in one of their greateſt reſources.

This manufacture is therefore leſs liable to outrages, than any other trade; and hence another cauſe of its improvements.

But it will be ſaid, that although theſe reaſons may account for the quantities of cloth made in Indoſtan, yet there remains a puzzle: how works of ſuch extraordinary niceneſs can be produced by a people, who, if what is ſaid of their mechanics be true, muſt be deprived of ſuch tools as ſeem abſolutely neceſſary to finiſh ſuch fine manufactures.

The ſurprize will be heightened when we find, that at Dacca, in the province of Bengal, where all the cloths for the uſe of the king and his ſeraglio are made, theſe are of ſuch wonderful fineneſs as to exceed ten times the price of any linens permitted to be made for Europeans, or any one elſe in the kingdom.

As much as an Indian is born deficient in mechanical ſtrength, ſo much is his whole frame endowed with an exceeding degree of ſenſibility and pliantness. The hand of an Indian cook-wench ſhall be more delicate than that of an European beauty: the ſkin and features of a porter ſhall be ſofter than thoſe of a profeſſed *petit maitre*.

The women wind off the raw ſilk from the pod of the worm. A ſingle pod of raw ſilk is divided into twenty different degrees of fineneſs; and ſo exquiſite is the feeling of theſe women, that whilſt the thread is running through their fingers ſo ſwiftly that their eye can be of no aſſiſtance, they will break it off exactly as the aſſortments change, at once from the firſt to the twentieth, from the nineteenth to the ſecond.

The

The women likewiſe ſpin the thread deſigned for the cloths, and then deliver it to the men, who have fingers to model it as exquiſitely as theſe have prepared it. For it is matter of fact, that the tools which they uſe are as ſimple and plain as they can be imagined to be. The rigid, clumſy fingers of an European would ſcarcely be able to make a piece of canvaſs, with the inſtruments which are all that an Indian employs in making a piece of cambric.

It is farther remarkable, that every diſtinct kind of cloth is the produce of a particular diſtrict, in which the fabric has been tranſmitted, perhaps for centuries, from father to ſon—a cuſtom which muſt have conduced to the perfection of the manufacture.

I ſhould perhaps, with my reader, have thought this detail of ſo ſimple a ſubject unneceſſary, had I not conſidered, that the progreſs of the linen manufacture includes no leſs than a deſcription of the lives of half the inhabitants of Indoſtan.

CAP. VIII.

Of the Trade.

THE numerous productions of Indoſtan, and the difference of wants in different parts of it, afford a large ſcope for an extenſive trade within itſelf; which is carried on with no ſmall degree of application, wherever the ſword is ſheathed.

The

The European nations, importing bullion and metals, which the Indians want, and exporting the cloths which they can eaſily ſpare, have much contributed to confirm the ſpirit of trade.

The king, by being proprietor of the lands, ſells to his ſubjects their ſubſiſtence, inſtead of receiving ſupplies from them. Hence a reſource exceeding that of all the taxes, impoſts, and cuſtoms of other governments; but ſtill a reſource incapable of producing gold or ſilver without the aſſiſtance of commerce.

The multitude of valuable productions, the cunning and induſtrious temper of the people, the avarice of the rulers of Indoſtan, have all equally concurred to eſtabliſh the extenſive commerce of this country. The government has found, by repeated experience in the conſequences of oppreſſion, that they beſt conſult the intereſt of their revenues in conſulting the ſecurity of their merchants.

The cuſtoms and impoſts throughout Indoſtan are fixed and unalterable. The merchant may at any time make an exact calculation of the deductions to which his trade is ſubject. Cuſtoms paid at any of the Mogul's ports, are not to be demanded at any other for the ſpace of twelve months.

The diamond mines, like all other lands, are the property of the ſovereign, who receives a vaſt revenue from the farmers admitted to work in them. This revenue is certain, be the ſucceſs what it will; and all diamonds above a particular and very

very moderate weight, belong to the king. The penalty of death, to all concerned in concealing a large ſtone, is executed with the utmoſt rigour, and is the cauſe why ſo few are ſeen in Europe, except when a Nazir Jing is murdered*.

None but princes who have been as weak in their intellects as violent in their inclinations, have diſtreſſed the merchants under their juriſdiction, by outrages exceeding the common bounds of impoſition; which the ſlavery of an Indian ſpirit contentedly receives as his lot.

When the Europeans entered India, they found at Surat one of the greateſt marts in the world. Arabia, Perſia, and China, were from hence ſupplied with cloths, and all other productions of the kingdom. Later we have known a merchant of that city the ſole proprietor of twenty ſhips, none of leſs burthen than five hundred tons: at preſent the merchants are ſeen ruined by the violences of an impolitic government, and we now only hear of the trade of this city.

Some years ago the province of Oude, laying to the north-weſt of Bengal, became quite impoveriſhed by the exceſs of the cuſtoms and the ſeverity of the collectors: the trade went round the province, inſtead of going through it. When Munſurally Cawn, the preſent Vizir of the empire, obtained that Nabobſhip, he inſtantly rectified the errors of his prede-

* See The Military Tranſactions in Indoſtan, vol. i. page 162.

ceſſors.

ceſſors. He lowered the cuſtoms exceedingly, and ſubjected the collection of them to better regulations. This province, being the ſhorteſt thoroughfare, immediately recovered its loſt trade, and flouriſhed under his adminiſtration beyond what it ever was known to do.

Bengal, by its ſituation and productions, has the moſt extenſive commerce of any province of the empire. Delhi is from hence ſupplied with all its linens and ſilks; the foreign marts of India, Arabia, and Perſia, with ſilk, raw and manufactured, with cloths, with ſugars, opium, grain, &c. The European nations make their largeſt and moſt valuable inveſtments here. The Nabob Allaverdy Khan obtained the government by his ſword, and by that has ever ſince maintained it. The pay of a very numerous ſtanding army has obliged him to be more rapacious than any of his predeceſſors were; the merchants therefore are obliged to buy their trade at dearer exactions than they were ever known to ſuffer: but this prince has not yet exceeded ſo much, as to leave the commerce of his province deſtitute of a profit ſufficient to excite adventurers.

The European nations are poſſeſſed of conſiderable ſettlements and much property within his territory; by quitting of which their companies would be ruined: this Allaverdy Khan knows full well: he therefore heſitates not to make exorbitant demands from them; and if matters are not ſoon compro-

compromiſed, he iſſues forth orders to ſtop every branch of their inveſtments, which are diſperſed throughout the country at great diſtances from their principal factories.

It is not to be expected that navigation ſhould have made great progreſs amongſt ſo enervated a people as thoſe of Indoſtan. They are unſkilful practitioners, and worſe theoriſts. It is common to find a Moor ſhip waſting three years on a voyage which might eaſily be performed in one: hence the Europeans are the general carriers of the eaſt.

With this advantage, with the advantage of particular ſituations, the colonies abroad are enabled to create many private fortunes, without interfering with the intereſts of the companies on which they depend.

CAP. IX.

Of the War.

THE rudeneſs of the military art in Indoſtan can ſcarce be imagined, but by thoſe who have ſeen it. The infantry conſiſts in a multitude of people aſſembled together without regard to rank and file: ſome with ſwords and targets, who can never ſtand the ſhock of a body of horſe: ſome bearing match-locks, which in the beſt of order can produce but a very uncertain fire: ſome armed with lances too long or too weak to be of any ſervice, even if ranged with the utmoſt regularity of diſcipline.

Little reliance is therefore placed in this force. To keep night-watches, and to plunder defenceleſs people, is their greateſt ſervice, except it conſiſts in their being a perquiſite to their commanders, who receive a fixed price for every man, and hire every man at a different and leſs price.

As the Moors are the lords of the country, they are of conſequence the warriors of it. Theſe derive from their originals, the Tartars, the affection which that people are famous for bearing towards their horſes; and the love of eaſe, in an inclement climate, has fixed this preference. The ſtrain of all the war reſts upon the numbers and goodneſs of horſe which are found in an army.

Every man brings his own horſe, and offers himſelf to be inliſted. The horſe, and not the man, is carefully examined; and according to the ſize and value of the beaſt, the maſter receives his pay. A good horſe will bring thirty or forty rupees a month. Sometimes an officer contracts for a whole troop which he has inliſted.

A horſe in Indoſtan is of four times greater value than in Europe. If the horſe is killed, the man is ruined. Strange that ſuch a regulation ſhould be eſtabliſhed, as makes it the intereſt of the ſoldier to fight as little as poſſible.

The privileges of free-booty and plunder, together with ſudden and ſanguinary executions, in ſome meaſure check this conſequence. The officer who commands a troop which

he has raiſed himſelf, is reſponſible for the behaviour of his men: he therefore brings them of his own family, or at leaſt as he can depend on. Theſe intereſts and connections do but indifferently ſupply the effects of a real love to their country, or a real attachment to their prince—principles which are very rarely found to influence the people of Indoſtan.

The victory is commonly decided by the fall of the principal men in the army. Theſe begin the onſet, and are followed by the hardieſt of their partizans; who no ſooner ſee their chief deſtroyed than they take to flight. Numbers of ſuch ſkirmiſhes compoſe what is called a battle in Indoſtan. The greateſt ſlaughter falls around the commander in chief, as the victory is confirmed in the inſtant of his death.

Armies more encumbered with the conveniences of life, than with the preparations for war, form looſe, ſtraggling, and diſorderly camps, and make irregular, dilatory marches. The mutual inactivity becomes the general ſecurity; for as it is a cuſtom of the eaſt to make the great meal at night, and of conſequence to fall into deep ſleep immediately after it, a handful of reſolute men might eaſily beat up a camp of many thouſands.

The courage of the people depends on the climate. In the northern parts of the kingdom, firmer fibres produce a proportionable degree of reſolution: in the ſouthern all is ſenſi-

bility; and fear muſt be predominant in ſuch as are infinitely ſuſceptible of the minuteſt impreſſions.

Perſons of high rank and diſtinction are ſeldom wanting in an intrepidity as little ſenſible to the apprehenſions of danger, as the puſillanimity of the lower and meaner people is incapable of reſiſting ſuch impulſes.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Compoſed at Calcutta in September 1752.
Corrected on board the ſhip Pelham, September 1753.

BOOK II.

CAP. I.

Of the Moors of Indoſtan.

THE Deſcendants of thoſe *Moors* or *Tartars*, who under the command of Tamerlane conquered Indoſtan, are now become exceedingly numerous; and, if collected together, would form a very populous nation.

But being diſperſed throughout the vaſt extent of this empire, their numbers appear ſo very ſmall, when compared to that of the Gentoos, who are all the original people of the country, that nothing but an effeminacy and reſignation of ſpirit, not to be paralleled in the world, could make it conceivable how theſe can remain ſubjected to maſters whom they outnumber ten to one.

The number of Moors in the northern countries, and about Delhi the capital, is found vaſtly to exceed that of the ſouthern and more diſtant provinces.

In the principal cities of the provinces, they are likewiſe in great numbers, as forming the greateſt part of the ſoldiery, or depending upon the officers and offices of the government. Out of theſe cities it is difficult to find a trade or manufacture carried on by a Moor.

The-

The Moors in Indoſtan may be divided into two kinds of people, differing in every reſpect, excepting in the profeſſion of the ſame religion. Under the firſt are reckoned the deſcendants of the conquerors; Tartars continually naturalizing themſelves in Indoſtan, through the encouragement which their martial ſpirit is ſure to receive; Arabians and Perſians who have quitted their own, to ſeek their fortunes in this country. The ſecond rank of Moors comprehends all the deſcendants of converted Gentoos—a miſerable race, as none but the moſt miſerable of the Gentoo caſts are capable of changing their religion.

CAP. II.

Of the Manners of the Moors.

The Tartars are known amongſt themſelves to be of honeſt and ſimple manners; and if at times fierce and cruel, they ceaſe to be ſo when they ceaſe to be enemies of war.

The conqueſt of Indoſtan was made by them with little difficulty, and has ſince been maintained with leſs: a diſtinction of religions (that of Mahomed, and that of the Gentoos) has enſued, whilſt the conqueror may without controul vaunt his own, and inſult that of the ſubject; the ſubject, by being more numerous has only become more deſpicable, from this proof of not daring to exert his ſtrength. Almoſt the whole wealth of this vaſt territory is divided amongſt the Moors,

Moors, the effect of their tenaciouſneſs in keeping all offices of the government amongſt themſelves. The principle of the government has nevertheleſs reduced all theſe mighty lords to be as much the ſlaves to ſome powers, as others are ſlaves to theirs. A licentiouſneſs and luxury peculiar to this enervating climate, have ſpread their corruption, and inſtead of meeting with obſtables from laws or opinions, is cheriſhed as the ſupreme good to the utmoſt exceſſes.

All theſe will ſurely be deemed cauſes ſufficient to have changed, in the preſent Moors of Indoſtan, the ſpirit which their anceſtors brought with them into it: and from hence many and dreadful vices are now naturalized amongſt them.

A domineering inſolence towards all who are in ſubjection to them, ungovernable wilfulneſs, inhumanity, cruelty, murders and aſſaſſinations, deliberated with the ſame calmneſs and ſubtlety as the reſt of their politics, an inſenſibility to remorſe for theſe crimes, which are ſcarcely conſidered otherwiſe than as neceſſary accidents in the courſe of life, ſenſual exceſſes which revolt againſt nature, unbounded thirſt of power, and an expaciouſneſs of wealth equal to the extravagance of his propenſities and vices—this is the character of an Indian Moor, who is of conſequence ſufficient to have any character at all.

It would be injuſtice to human nature, were we not to think all general deſcriptions of it liable to exceptions.

Inhumanity

Inhumanity and cruelty is not always the propenſity of a Moor, as ſuch; but as of a man determined to remove all obſtacles to his ambition: this effected, it is common to ſee the prince of a diſpoſition leſs ſanguinary than that of the beſt of his courtiers. Such is Allaverdy Khan, the preſent Nabob of Bengal; and what is more ſingular in a perſon of his ſtation and religion, this prince has always perſiſted to live the huſband of one wife.

It remains to ſpeak of the military reſolution of the Moors. Where all is maintained by the ſword, it is natural that the profeſſion of a ſoldier ſhould be the neareſt road not only to honours but to power. Every one urges on to be as high in the rank of ſlaves as he can; and ſome have even affected intire * independance. A governor of a province will ſcarce be able to maintain it, if he is not a very brave man, and at every inſtant ready to enter the field; nay, ſuch a dignity is rarely conferred, but upon ſuch as have given proofs of their abilities to command an army in perſon. Where courage is become ſo indiſpenſible a qualification, in all who attempt to better their fortunes in the ſtate, it is no wonder that we ſee all of the higheſt rank of Moors poſſeſſed of it in no contemptible degree.

* Nizamalmuluck, the Subah of the ſouthern provinces; Allaverdy Khan, the Nabob of Bengal.

CAP. III.

Of the Politeneſs and Ceremonies of the Moors.

THE climate and habits of Indoſtan have enervated the ſtrong fibres with which the Tartars conquered it; and the rude ſenſe of that people is now refined in their deſcendants, in a great meaſure, to the ſenſibility of the Indians.

I muſt apologize for reminding the reader ſo often, of the gradation of ſlavery which ſubſiſts throughout Indoſtan; without carrying this idea continually with us, it is impoſſible to form any idea of theſe people.

That tribute of obedience which a man pays to his ſuperior, he naturally exacts from his inferior; and where every man is obliged to pay, and expects to receive, this obedience, it is natural that a check ſhould be put to all outward indecorum. If to this we join the idea of a people in whom ſubtilty has been ſubſtituted to impetuous manners, we ſhall not wonder to ſee them become vaſtly polite. It is deſtroying the nature of things, for any more than one or two perſons to be off their guard in the point of ceremonial or behaviour.

We find, therefore, amongſt the Moors, the ceremonies of outward manners carried to a more refined pitch than in any other part of the world, excepting China. Theſe manners are become a fundamental of their education, as without

them a man would, inſtead of making his fortune, be liable to loſe his head.

An uncivil thing is never ſaid amongſt equals: the moſt extravagant adulation, both of geſture and words, is laviſhed upon the ſuperior. The grandee is ſeated in his * Durbar, where all who approach to pay their reſpects are ranged according to their reſpective degrees of ſtation or favour. All is attention to his countenance: if he aſks a queſtion, it is anſwered with the turn that will pleaſe him: if he aſſerts, all applaud the truth: does he contradict, all tremble: a multitude of domeſticks appear in waiting, as ſilent and immovable as ſtatues. This is the ceremonial of paying court. I ſpeak not of the Durbar as the tribunal of juſtice: there injuries muſt cry aloud, or will not be heard.

By the experience which they have had of Europeans, they deny us all pretenſions to politeneſs. Our familiarities appear ſhocking to their notions of awe and reſpect; our vivacities quite ridiculous to their notions of ſolemnity. I ſhall be pardoned for giving an inſtance of this.

* The gentlemen of one of the European factories in Bengal, were invited to ſee the ceremony of a ſacred day at the Nabob's palace, where all the great men of the city were to

* Durbar is the name of the place in which the prince makes his public appearance to receive homage, and likewiſe of that in which juſtice is adminiſtered by himſelf or his officers.

be

be aſſembled. The Europeans were placed near the Nabob's perſon. The ſcene was in a large area of the palace; in the middle of which, directly oppoſite to the Nabob, a fountain was playing. The Moors who entered, approached no nearer than juſt before the fountain; there made obeiſance, and then retired to their ſeats. A man of ſome diſtinction added a ſtep or two too much to his retreating bow, and fell backwards into the ciſtern of the fountain. I queſtion whether half the foreign ambaſſadors of any court in Europe, could have ſuppreſſed their mirth on ſuch an occaſion: our foreign viſitors burſt into repeated peals of laughter, and flung themſelves into all the attitudes which uſually accompany the exceſs of it. Not a muſcle was changed in the countenance of any other perſon in the aſſembly. The unlucky man went out with great compoſure, to change his raiment; and all the attention of the company was diverted from him upon the boiſterous mirth of the ſtrangers, which became real matter of aſtoniſhment to theſe nice obſervers of decorum.

The deputies of an European ſettlement on the coaſt of Coromandel, arrived at the camp of Nazirjing, late Subah of the ſouthern provinces, who had at that time occaſion for the ſervices of their preſidency. In ſtipulating the ceremonies of their audience, they inſiſted that they could not ſit croſs-legged upon the ground, without being cramped: it was anſwered, that they could not be admitted to ſit upon chairs (according to the European cuſtom) in the preſence of a prince of Nazirjing's dignity; as, according to their cuſtoms,

no inferior could be placed on a ſeat raiſed higher than that on which his ſuperior was ſeated. The deputies then deſired that a hole might be dug in the ground of the tent, in which they might put their legs without injuring the dignity of that prince. This was granted, to the no ſmall aſtoniſhment of all preſent, that theſe gentlemen ſhould chuſe, on ſuch an occaſion, to appear in a ſituation which amongſt the Moors is a puniſhment for miſdemeanors committed by the lower claſs of people. It had juſt the ſame effect upon them, as upon us would have the requeſt of a ſtranger, who at ſuch an introduction ſhould deſire, inſtead of a chair, to be ſet in a pair of ſtocks.

The Moors are much attached to ſuch Europeans as comply eaſily with the ſolemnity and ceremonies of their manners; and nothing revolts them ſooner than a contempt of their cuſtoms.

Perſons of diſtinction have been known, through a ſenſe of ſhame, to make away with themſelves, after having committed an involuntary indecorum in the preſence of their ſuperiors. Need I ſay any thing more of their notions of behaviour and decorum?

CAP. IV.

Of their Diſſimulation.

THE politeneſs of other nations may have its riſe from a natural eaſe and happineſs of temper, a point of honour, the idea a man conveys of himſelf by the reſpect he ſhows to others;

others; but the decorum with which the common ceremonies and occurrences of life are conducted in Indoſtan, is derived from the conſtant idea of ſubordination, joined to a conſtant habit of the deepeſt diſguiſe and diſſimulation of the heart.

In Indoſtan, every man may literally be ſaid to be the maker of his own fortune. Great talents, unawed by ſcruples of conſcience, ſeldom fail of ſucceſs: from hence all perſons of diſtinction are ſeen running in the ſame courſe. The perſeverance neceſſary to attain his end, teaches every man to bear and forbear contrary to the common inſtincts of human nature: and hence ariſes their politeneſs.

Let us carry theſe reflections a little farther. The general competition has put an end to mutual confidence: a ſenſibility capable of diſcerning every thing, is ſoon taught a diſguiſe capable of concealing every thing. Where morality has no check upon ambition, it muſt form the blackeſt reſolutions; and the diſſimulation neceſſary to carry theſe into execution, will, amongſt a people circumſtanced as I have deſcribed them, be carried to exceſſes, which different manners and better morals will ſcarcely imagine human nature to be capable of.

An expreſſion of indignation has coſt a conſiderable officer his life, three months after he had betrayed himſelf to the apprehenſions of his general, who never afterwards thought himſelf ſecure from the reſentments of a man whoſe violence

lence was capable of tranſporting him to a public manifeſtation of diſguſt: in the interim, nothing but the utmoſt complaiſance and reſpect has ſubſiſted between them. Juſt as the raſh man has thought his peace was made, he has found his deſtruction determined.

I cannot aſk credit for the multiplicity of facts of this nature, which I could relate: How many princes have been ſtabbed in full Durbar? How many have been poiſoned in their beds? Chiefs of armies circumvented and cut off at conferences in the field? Favourite courtiers ſtrangled without previous notice of their crime, or whilſt they thought themſelves on the eve of deſtroying their maſters? A century of the politics of Indoſtan would afford more examples of this nature, than can be found in the whole hiſtory of Europe ſince the reign of Charlemagne.

How grateful, how noble are the reflections inſpired by ſuch a retroſpect, in favour of the cauſe of Chriſtianity, and in favour of the cauſe of Liberty!

CAP. V.

Of the Gentoos in general.

A people believing in metampſychoſis, who are forbid by their religion to deſtroy the ſmalleſt inſect; a people continually aſſembling to celebrate the feſtivals of their gods, who believe that acts of charity to the poor can atone for all their

ſins,

ſins, who are fond to exceſs of the enjoyment of a domeſtic life, and extremely ſolicitous in the cares of it—ſuch a people muſt acquire humane and gentle manners.

The Gentoos are very affectionate parents, and treat their domeſtics with great mildneſs. They are charitable, even to relieving the neceſſities of ſtrangers: and the politeneſs of their behaviour is refined by the natural effeminacy of their diſpoſition, to exceed even that of the Moors.

The ſway of a deſpotic government has taught them the neceſſity of patience; and the coolneſs of their imagination enables them to practiſe it better than any people in the world. They conceive a contemptible opinion of a man's capacity, who betrays any impetuoſity in his temper.

Slavery has ſharpened the natural fineſs of all the ſpirits of Aſia; from the difficulty of obtaining, and the greater difficulty of preſerving it, the Gentoos are indefatigable in buſineſs, and maſters of the moſt exquiſite diſſimulation in all affairs of intereſt. They are the acuteſt buyers and ſellers in the world, and preſerve through all their bargains a degree of calmneſs, which baffles all the arts that can be oppoſed againſt it.

The children are capable of aſſiſting them in their buſineſs at an age when ours ſcarce begin to learn. It is common to ſee a boy of eleven years enter into an aſſembly of conſiderable men, make his obeiſance, deliver his meſſage, and then retire with all the propriety and grace of a very well-bred man.

It

and lodging of paſſengers: ſpacious ponds dug for the eaſe of the labourer, and the convenience of the inhabitants: daily diſtribution of victuals given to the poor:—ſuch effects concur to give us an idea of the charity of the Gentoos, not exceeded by that of the practice of Chriſtians.

The Brachmans themſelves profeſs great hoſpitality, and by this addreſs preſerve that extreme veneration, which otherwiſe would be loſt through the effects of envy, in a deteſtation of their impoſitions.

Far be from me the malignity of attributing to the weakneſs of human nature, the effects which might juſtly be given to its virtues: were not the Gentoos infamous for the want of generoſity and gratitude in all the commerces of friendſhip; were they not a tricking, deceitful people, in all their dealings; their charity could not be deemed to ariſe from the influence of ſuperſtition.

A very ſtrange cuſtom prevails in ſome parts of India: a Brachman devotes himſelf to death, by eating until he expires with the forfeit. It is no wonder that ſuperſtition is convinced of the neceſſity of cramming the prieſt, when he profeſſes to eat like a cormorant through a principle of religion.

CAP. VII.

Of the Gentoo Principalities.

It is a remark warranted by conſtant obſervation, that wherever the government is adminiſtered by Gentoos, the people

people are ſubject to more and ſeverer oppreſſions than when ruled by the Moors.

I have imputed this to intelligent Gentoos, who have confeſſed the juſtice of the accuſation, and have not ſcrupled to give their opinions concerning it.

A Gentoo, ſay they, is not only born with a ſpirit of more ſubtile invention, but by his temperance and education becomes more capable of attention to affairs, than a Moor; who no ſooner obtains power, than he is loſt in voluptuouſneſs; he becomes vain and lordly, and cannot diſpenſe with ſatiating the impulſes of his ſenſual appetites: whereas a Gentoo prince retains in his Durbar the ſame ſpirit which would actuate him if keeping a ſhop. Avarice is his predominant paſſion; and all the wiles, addreſs, cunning, and perſeverance, of which he is ſo exquiſite a maſter, are exerted to the utmoſt in fulfilling the dictates of this vice; and his religion, inſtead of inſpiring, frees him from, the remorſe of his crimes; for whilſt he is haraſſing and plundering his people by the moſt cruel oppreſſions, he is making peace with his gods by denying nothing to their prieſts.

The preſent king of Travencore has conquered or carried war into all the countries which lay round his dominions, and lives in the continual exerciſe of his arms. To atone for the blood which he has ſpilt, the Brachmans perſuaded him that it was neceſſary he ſhould be born anew: this ceremony conſiſted in putting the prince into the body of a

golden cow of immenſe value, where, after he had laid the time preſcribed, he came out regenerated, and freed from all the crimes of his former life. The cow was afterwards cut up and divided amongſt the SEERS who had invented this extraordinary method for the remiſſion of his ſins.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

Compoſed at Calcutta in September 1752.
Corrected, retrenched in ſome, enlarged in other places, on board the Pelham, in September 1753.

BOOK III.

OF THE LAWS AND JUSTICE OF INDOSTAN.

CAP. I.

Of the Laws of Indoſtan.

A government depending upon no other principle than the will of one, cannot be ſuppoſed to admit any abſolute laws into its conſtitution; for theſe would often interfere with that will.

There are no digeſts or codes of laws exiſting in Indoſtan: the Tartars who conquered this country could ſcarcely read or write; and when they found it impoſſible to convert them to Mahomedaniſm, left the Gentoos at liberty to follow their own religion.

To both theſe people (the lords and ſlaves of this empire) cuſtom and religion have given all the regulations which are at this time obſerved in Indoſtan. The ſanction of ſuch impreſſions continue the policies of this empire, ſuch as they are, with a conſtancy not exceeded in legiſlatures founded upon the beſt of principles.

A detail of theſe cuſtoms and policies is not to be expected. A whole life ſpent in ſuch enquiries, would at the end remain ignorant of the hundredth part of them: every province has fifty ſects of Gentoos; and every ſect adheres to different obſervances. My intent is only to give a general idea

idea of the ſources of civil and criminal caſes, and of the methods of proceſs by which they are adjudged.

CAP. II.

Of Civil Caſes.

It is a maxim, that civil inſtitutions will always be found infinitely more circumſcribed, and much leſs complicated, in deſpotick ſtates, than in thoſe of liberty. If theſe in Indoſtan are found leſs frequent than in freer governments, they certainly are more than could be expected in one ſo abſolute: and this I ſhall endeavour to account for.

No property in lands admits of diſputes concerning them. The ſlavery to which the rights of parent and huſband ſubjects the female (who neither amongſt the Moors or Gentoos is ſuffered to appear before any of the other ſex, except her neareſt relations) aboliſhes at once all ſuits of dowries, divorce, jointures, and ſettlements: but if theſe two of the fundamental cauſes of diſpute are removed, the other two remain; commerce and inheritances are permitted, and naturally produce contentions.

CAP. III.

Inheritances and Commerce permitted; and from hence Civil Caſes ariſe in Indoſtan.

Although the notion of abſolute power admits of nothing which can be ſanctifyed from its graſp, whence the king, as in

in other deſpotick ſtates, may, if he pleaſes, become heir to any man in his kingdom; yet cuſtom has not eſtabliſhed this right to him in Indoſtan; and theſe perhaps are the reaſons why neither the Moors or Gentoos have been ſubjected to it.

1. All the political inſtitutions of the Gentoos are ſo blended with the idea of religion, that this is generally effected where theſe are concerned. The ſoftneſs of manners which theſe people receive from the climate, has fixed all their attention to the ſolaces of a domeſtick life. There are not more tender parents, or better maſters, in the world: ſuch a people will make wills in favour of their offspring: and the prince finds himſelf reſtrained by policy from eſtabliſhing a right ſo utterly ſhocking to the nature and diſpoſition of the ſubject. He is likewiſe reſtrained by religion: the name of God invoked in the teſtament of a Gentoo, gives it as ſacred an authority as with thoſe who have better notions of a Deity; and the Brachman is too much intereſted, as father of a family, to ſanctify a practice which would affect his own property. Thus the Gentoo princes were never ſeen to aſſert this right, excepting when avarice had got ſo far the aſcendant, as not only to confound all their notions of policy, but even to make them look on religion as the prejudice of education.

2. The Moors, in the firſt outrages of conqueſt, doubtleſs poſſeſſed themſelves of all kinds of property: but when the Gentoos

Gentoos would not be converted, and were left to the obſervance of their own rites, the right of teſtaments was continued, and ſtill ſubſiſts amongſt them. The Gentoos, by their ſubtilty and application, find many means of gaining wealth under the Moors; and this wealth they devolve by will to their male children. The obſtacles which theſe may meet with in taking poſſeſſion, will be explained hereafter.

3. The idea of being fellow-conquerors; the complacency ariſing from perpetual victories; the immenſe wealth which theſe conqueſts afforded; might have been the cauſes which prevented the firſt Mahomedan princes of Indoſtan, from eſtabliſhing amongſt thoſe of their own religion, this utmoſt effort of abſolute power. They were contented with knowing that they had at all times the power to ſeize, without declaring that they intended to inherit every man's property.

4. When the kingdom came to be divided into diſtinct provinces; when many of theſe provinces rendered their Nabobs almoſt independant of the throne; it would have been the height of impolicy to have attempted ſuch an inſtitution; it would have been impoſſible to have effected it.

5. Had the throne attempted ſuch violence upon ſuch ſubjects as were more immediately within its reach, the next province, or, if not that, one beyond it, would have afforded an aſylum, where a part of the perſecuted wealth, beſtowed with addreſs, could not fail to procure ſafety and protection

to the remainder; eſpecially if the heirs, as they doubtleſsly would, took ſanctuary with princes, who either were diſſatisfied with, or diſregarded, the authority of the court: hence confuſions and revolts may be ſtrengthened, if not produced.

6. If a Nabob thought his power ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to perpetrate, and ſhould attempt the violence of ſuch acquiſitions, the ſubject would remove to the government of the neighbouring prince, whom he would probably find in a ſtate of war with him from whoſe outrages he had fled.

If the right of inheritance in the ſovereign were as chimerical a notion as it appears inconſiſtent with the exiſtence of a powerful nation, I ſhould not have inſiſted upon theſe conjectures; but this right is certainly eſtabliſhed in the dominions of the Turk: and the emperor of Japan is not only the abſolute lord of the property of his ſubjects, but is likewiſe ſo, in the utmoſt ſignification of the term, over their perſons, which he maſſacres and tortures at his pleaſure, at ſome times exterminating a whole city for the offence of a ſingle man.

The different methods of inheritance amongſt the Gentoos, are ſettled by their religion, according to the different caſts by which they are diſtinguiſhed. In general, the females are recommended to the care of the brothers; and theſe are commonly ordered to divide equally: ſometimes firſt couſins, eſpecially if born under the ſame roof, ſhare equally with the brothers: ſometimes the firſt wife of the deceaſed is intruſted

with the management of the whole eſtate during life—a cuſtom attended with no conſequences prejudicial to the children, as ſhe cannot enter into a ſecond marriage. It is always recommended by the parent, that the houſe, if in a way of trade, be not divided; and as ſurely it happens, that diviſions enſue amongſt the heirs.

If the rights of inheritance are ſeen to be a ſource from whence a multiplicity of litigations may ariſe in Indoſtan, the free exerciſe of commerce will be found to produce ſtill more frequent occaſions of diſpute.

The varied and extenſive commerce which exiſts in Indoſtan, both by ſea and land, is more than can be imagined by thoſe who are unacquainted with the multiplicity and value of the productions of this wealthy empire: the high roads are full of caravans; the navigable rivers of boats; the ſea-coaſts of barques; and ſhips with the richeſt cargoes make voyages from one part of the kingdom to another.

CAP. IV.

Spirit of the Moors and of the Gentoos, in Litigious Contentions.

It may not be thought unneceſſary to view the diſpoſitions of the people of Indoſtan in litigious contentions.

The Moors hold the office of a ſcribe in contempt: commerce therefore cannot be held by them in honour. The Moors who engage in it have nothing but the name of the merchant; the buſineſs is tranſacted by ſome ſubtile Gentoo, who, when he wants his maſter to confirm a bargain, is ſure

to find him in the women's apartment, or falling aſleep over his Kaloon*. Nothing is ſo indolent as a Moor out of the track of ambition: he will readily compromiſe a cauſe, if he entertains the leaſt doubt of gaining it; and if there is a neceſſity of proſecuting it, he ſends a Gentoo to the Durbar, as his repreſentative ſolicitor.

That puſillanimity and ſenſibility of ſpirit, which renders the Gentoos incapable of ſupporting the contentions of danger, diſpoſes them as much to proſecute litigious conteſts. No people are of more inveterate and ſteady reſentments in civil diſputes. The only inſtance in which they ſeem to have a contempt for money, is their profuſion of it in procuring the redreſs and revenge of injuries at the bar of juſtice. Although they can, with great reſignation, ſee themſelves plundered to the utmoſt by their ſuperiors, they become mad with impatience when they think themſelves defrauded of any part of their property by their equals. Nothing can be more adapted to the feminine ſpirit of a Gentoo, than the animoſities of a law-ſuit.

CAP. V.

Of the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in Civil Caſes.

THE ſuperiority of their numbers in every province of Indoſtan, may have firſt given riſe to the cuſtom of devolving the office of Duan upon a Gentoo: and the ſenſe

* An inſtrument out of which they ſmoke tobacco.

well as in all other deſpotic governments, ought no longer to be admired. As ſoon as the judge is ready, every thing that is neceſſary is ready: there are no tedious briefs of caſes, no various interpretations of an infinity of laws, no methodized forms, and no harangues to keep the parties longer in ſuſpence.

Providence has, at particular ſeaſons, bleſſed the miſeries of theſe people with the preſence of a righteous judge. The vaſt reverence and reputation which ſuch have acquired, are but too melancholy a proof of the infrequency of ſuch a character. The hiſtory of their judgments and deciſions is tranſmitted down to poſterity, and is quoted with a viſible complacency on every occaſion. Stories of this nature ſupply the place of proverbs in the converſations of all the people of Indoſtan, and are applied by them with great propriety.

CAP. VI.

Of Arbitrations.

The abuſes of public juſtice naturally produced the preference of private arbitrations: theſe would ſoon have removed all cauſes from the tribunal of the ſovereign; all arbitrations are therefore prohibited, excepting under the inſpections and reſtrictions of the Durbar, which confirms ſuch umpire as are deſired, or elects ſuch as are dreaded, conformable to the complacency or diſpleaſure which have been inſpired by the addreſs of the parties.

Many

Many of the cauſes which ariſe from the intricacies in commercial accounts, are referred to arbitration, as the attention neceſſary to ſcrutinize them would employ too much time at the Durbar. Theſe are ſometimes decided with ſufficient candour, as the umpire capable of ſuch a taſk are not always the immediate inſtruments of the government.

CAP. VII.

An Objection anſwered.

It may be objected, that the ſtrict attention given to the forms of juſtice in Indoſtan, appears inconſiſtent with the nature of a government acknowledged to be deſpotic.

Theſe forms would, without doubt, be deſpiſed, were not the inhabitants of the province leſs ſubjected to the will of their Nabob, than the vicegerent himſelf is dependant upon the will of his ſovereign.

A government depending upon the will of one, exiſts no longer if another abſolute will exiſts in any part of it; that part immediately becomes a ſeparate kingdom. This is openly the caſe in the revolts of Indoſtan whilſt they laſt; and ſometimes is ſecretly ſo in the dominions of ſuch vicegerents, who, relying on their power, diſtance, or addreſs, think that they have little to fear from the throne; but at the ſame time do not openly give defiance to it.

The Nabob is commiſſioned to repreſent his prince as a ſteward, who is bound to take all meaſures for the preſervation and increaſe of his maſter's eſtate. It would be abſurd

abſurd to imagine that the emperor ſhould delegate to any ſubject the power of plundering and murdering at pleaſure: this monſtrous privilege is acknowledged in none but himſelf; and others muſt uſe oblique means to attain it. The laſt reſource from injuſtice lays at the throne, which has been often ſeen to recall a Nabob, when the cries of a province have been loud enough to penetrate its receſſes.

It is well known that the emperor is commonly the moſt ignorant man in his dominions, of the tranſactions of his government. The lordly miniſter who thus excludes all affairs from his maſter's inſpection, ſubjects them as much to his own. The cabals, the caprice, the revolutions of a court, are every hour to be dreaded by every vicegerent, if not of overgrown authority; and he is never without enemies and rivals ready to exaggerate all pretexts for ſupplanting him.

From the impreſſion of theſe reſtraints, ſuch as they are, the forms of juſtice are revered in all the governments of Indoſtan, as much as the reality of it is abuſed.

CAP. VIII.

Monſtrous Abuſe of the Forms of Juſtice.

From the impreſſion of ſuch reſtraints, we likewiſe ſee no act of violence committed but under the maſk of juſtice.

As ſoon as a man becomes conſpicuous for his poſſeſſions, and begins to deſpiſe keeping meaſures with the Durbar, by neglecting to ſupply the voluntary contributions which are expected

expected from him; inſtead of giving him poiſon, which would not anſwer the end propoſed, as his treaſures are buried, he is beſet with ſpies, commonly of his own domeſtics, who report even to the minuteſt of his actions: offers from diſcontented parties are made to him; a commerce with the enemies of the province is propoſed; if he avoids theſe ſnares, a profitable poſt in the government is tendered to him; which if he accepts, his ruin is at hand, as the ſlighteſt of the villanies practiſed in every branch of it, becomes foundation ſufficient to render him a public criminal: ſhould he have eſcaped this too, it remains that ſome more glaring and deſperate meaſure of iniquitous juſtice hurry him to deſtruction. Let the following example ſuggeſt and ſupply the many which might be produced.

A very wealthy houſe of Gentoo bankers were admoniſhed at Muxadavad of the Nabob's neceſſities for money: and better verſed in the arts of amaſſing, than in the methods neceſſary to preſerve their riches, they preſented a ſum much more agreeable to their own avarice, than to the expectations of their perſecutors. None of the uſual ſnares were likely to ſucceed with people of their exceſſive caution. One of the dead bodies, which are continually floating upon the river Ganges, happened to be thrown aſhore under the wall of their dwelling-houſe; which was immediately ſurrounded by the officers of the civil magiſtrate, and nothing heard but execrations againſt theſe devoted criminals, who were proclaimed the murderers of a ſon of Mahomed. The chief of

the houſe was hurried away to a dungeon prepared for his reception; where, after having thrice endured the ſcourge, he compromiſed the price of his liberty, and the remiſſion of his pretended crime, for the ſum of fifty thouſand rupees. This man I perſonally knew.

Warned by ſuch examples, the more intelligent man of condition ſees at once the neceſſity of ingratiating himſelf into the favour of his prince by making acceptable offerings, proportioned to his fortune. It would not be credited, that the family of Tuttichchund, ſhortly after his death, gave in one preſent to the Nabob of Bengal, the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling! were it not known that this man, by having managed the mint and treaſury of the province for forty years ſucceſſively, was become the richeſt private ſubject in the empire.

CAP. IX.

General Idea of the Oppreſſion of the Government.

IMITATION has conveyed the unhappy ſyſtem of oppreſſion which prevails in the government of Indoſtan throughout all ranks of the people, from the higheſt even to the loweſt ſubject of the empire. Every head of a village calls his habitation the Durbar, and plunders of their meal and roots the wretches of his precinct: from him the Zemindar extorts the ſmall pittance of ſilver, which his penurious tyranny has ſcraped together: the Phouſdar ſeizes upon the greateſt ſhare of the Zemindar's collections, and then ſecures the favour

vour of his Nabob by voluntary contributions, which leave him not poſſeſſed of the half of his rapines and exactions: the Nabob fixes his rapacious eye on every portion of wealth which appears in his province, and never fails to carry off part of it: by large deductions from theſe acquiſitions, he purchaſes ſecurity from his ſuperiors, or maintains it againſt them at the expence of a war.

Subject to ſuch oppreſſions, property in Indoſtan is ſeldom ſeen to deſcend to the third generation.

CAP. X.

Of Criminal Caſes, and of the Juſtice adminiſtered in them.

It now remains to ſpeak of the juſtice adminiſtered in criminal caſes.

Theſe meet with ſeverer and more various puniſhments amongſt the Gentoos, who are guided by their own caprice in appointing them, than amongſt the Moors, who are directed by their *Alcoran*—a law which, amongſt its abſurdities, has not admitted that of cruelty in the puniſhment of crimes.

The puniſhment of all offences is executed immediately after conviction; and the proofs of this conviction are generally attended to with more juſtice than prevails in any other caſes: perhaps, becauſe the guilty have ſeldom any thing but their lives to loſe.

Murders and robberies upon the highway incur death; other felonies, labour during life, and the ſcourge, a mulct, or impriſonment.

The offices in the civil magiſtrate are comprized in an inſtitution, which is too peculiar to Indoſtan to be expreſſed by any word in our language.

In every city, and in every conſiderable town, is appointed a guard, directed by proper officers, whoſe duty it is to coerce and puniſh all ſuch crimes and miſdemeanors as affect the policy of that diſtrict, and are at the ſame time of too infamous or of too inſignificant a nature to be admitted before the more ſolemn tribunal of the Durbar. Theſe miniſters of juſtice are called the Catwall; and a building bearing the ſame name is allotted for their conſtant reſort.

At this place are perpetually heard the clamours of the populace: ſome demanding redreſs for the injury of a blow, or a bad name; others for a fraud in the commerce of farthings: one wants aſſiſtance to take, another has taken a thief: ſome offering themſelves for bondſmen; others called upon for witneſſes. The cries of wretches under the ſcourge, and the groans of expiring criminals, complete a ſcene of perfect miſery and confuſion.

After theſe employments of the day, parties are ſent from the Catwall, to patrole and watch through the town by night.

The intelligence which the Catwall conſtantly receives, of every tranſaction which paſſes within the limits of its juriſdiction, renders it very capable of aſſiſting the ſuperior powers of the government in their ſyſtem of oppreſſions.

Gentoos who have commerce with public women; Moors

who

who are addicted to drinking ſpirituous liquors; all perſons who hazard money in gaming;—ſuch are ſubject to be narrowly watched by the Catwall; and, when detected, find that nothing but money can exempt them from public diſgrace.

In ſuch governments where the ſuperiors are loſt to all ſenſe of humanity, the moſt execrable of villanies are perpetrated by this inſtitution, deſigned to prevent them.

The Catwall enters into treaty with a band of robbers, who receive from hence the intelligence neceſſary to direct their exploits, and in return pay to it a ſtipulated portion of their acquiſitions: beſides the conceſſions neceſſary to ſecure impunity when detected, one part of the band is appointed to break into houſes, another aſſaults the traveller upon the road, a third the merchant upon the river: I have ſeen theſe regulated villains commit murders in the face of day, with ſuch deſperate audacity as nothing but the confidence of protection could inſpire.

In juriſdictions of narrow limits and little importance, it is cuſtomary to blend the Durbar and Catwall in one tribunal. In theſe all cauſes wherein money and property are in contention, thoſe wherein the terror of his preſence is neceſſary to ſupport the intended extortions,—ſuch are brought before the governor of the diſtrict, who leaves to inferior miniſters the execution of what are properly the duties of the Catwall.

CAP.

CAP. XI.

Some Reflections.

HAVING brought to a concluſion this eſſay on the government and people of Indoſtan, I cannot refrain from making the reflections which ſo obviouſly ariſe from the ſubject.

Chriſtianity vindicates all its glories, all its honour, and all its reverence, when we behold the moſt horrid impieties avowed amongſt the nations on whom its influence does not ſhine, as actions neceſſary in the common conduct of life: I mean poiſonings, treachery, and aſſaſſinations, in the ſons of ambition; rapines, cruelty, and extortions, in the miniſters of juſtice.

I leave divines to vindicate, by more ſanctified reflections, the cauſe of their Religion and their God.

The ſons of Liberty may here behold the mighty ills to which the ſlaves of a deſpotic power muſt be ſubject: the ſpirit darkened and depreſſed by ignorance and fear; the body tortured and tormented by puniſhments inflicted without juſtice and without meaſure: ſuch a contraſt to the bleſſings of liberty, heightens at once the ſenſe of our happineſs, and our zeal for the preſervation of it.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

Compoſed on board the Ship Pelham, September 25th 1753.

EFFEMINACY

OF THE

INHABITANTS

OF

INDOSTAN.

EFFEMINACY, &c.

EUROPEANS underſtand by the Eaſt Indies, all the countries and empires, which laying to the ſouth of Tartary, extend from the eaſtern frontiers of Perſia to the eaſtern coaſts of China. The iſlands of Japan are likewiſe included in this denomination, as are all the Malay iſlands, in which the Dutch have ſuch valuable poſſeſſions, and which extend to the ſouthward as far as the coaſts of New Holland, and to the eaſtward to lands unknown.

The dominion of the Great Mogul, to which the name of India can only with propriety be applied, are deſignated in Aſia as well as in Europe, by the kingdom of INDOSTAN; and although the Moguls are not maſters of all the countries which are accepted under this denomination, yet there are very few tracts which have not formerly been, or which are not at preſent, ſubject or tributary to Mahomedans.

That part of the weſtern ſide of Indoſtan, which is not bounded by the ſea, is ſeparated from Perſia and the Uſbeg Tartary by deſarts, and by thoſe mountains which were known to the ancients under the name of Paropamiſus. The courſe of mount Caucaſus forms its barrier to the north, and ſeparates it from various nations of Tartars, from the Great and Little Thibet. Where mount Caucaſus ceaſes, marſhes

and rivers divide it from the kingdoms of Tepra, Aſſam, and Aracan, and circumſcribe to the eaſtward the dominions of the Mogul, until they reach the ſea at Chitigan. The ſea from Chitigan to the cape of the peninſula of India, and from this cape to the dominions of Perſia forms the remaining boundary, and embraces more than one half of the kingdom of Indoſtan*: there are few empires of which nature has more ſtrongly marked the outline.

The moſt northern parts of this empire laying in the 35th degree of latitude, and the moſt ſouthern in the 8th, the diſtance from the northern to the ſouthern extremity is more than 1,620 geographical miles; the greateſt extent from eaſt to weſt is about 1,500 miles.

This great extent of country has, from the earlieſt antiquity, been inhabited by a people who have no reſemblance, either in their figures or manners, with any of the nations which are contiguous to them; and although theſe nations have at different times ſent conquerors amongſt them, who have eſtabliſhed themſelves in different parts of the country; although the Mogul Tartars under Tamerlane and his ſucceſſors have at laſt rendered themſelves lords of almoſt the whole of it, yet the original inhabitants loſt very little of their original character by theſe mixtures; contrary to the effects of conqueſt in all the Chriſtian, and in moſt of the Mahomedan empires, in which Cyrus, Vercingetorix, and Cæſar, if riſen from the dead, could not diſtinguiſh any traces

* See Tavernier, alſo Mr. D'Anville's Map of India.

of

of the men who obeyed them in Perſia, in Gaul, and in Italy; but this might Porus in India[*], on the very ſpot in which he ſubmitted to Alexander.

[*] Read the deſcription given by Diodorus, of the Indian woman who burnt herſelf with the corpſe of her huſband, in the army of Eumenes. She diſtributes her ornaments amongſt her friends and relations, as a pledge of her regard to them, and as a mark of her deſire to be remembered by them. Theſe ornaments are a great number of rings ſet with precious ſtones of all colours, which ſhe wore on her fingers; her head was adorned with ſtars of gold, and with the ſame kind of ſtones; her neck with ornaments or chains, which fell down to her breaſts. One would think that the deſcription of theſe ornaments, and of the alacrity and ſpirit with which this woman ſacrifices herſelf, was wrote yeſterday. It is not probable that any great changes can have been introduced amongſt a people, who have preſerved for two thouſand years, a cuſtom which ſo ſtrongly revolts the firſt feelings of humanity.

Mr. Thevenot ſays, that the Indians were ignorant of the time when the ſtupendous works of the temple of Elora near Aurengabad were performed, at the ſame time that they were giving hiſtories of the gods worſhipped in thoſe temples.

There are, in the temple of the Elephanta near Bombay, veſtiges of an antiquity, perhaps not later than the incurſion of Alexander. Helmets, a ſacrifice, of which the hints ſeem to be taken from ſtrangers; for the Indians do not ſcruple to think foreign modes a proper ornament in their temples, and even for the figures of their divinities, although they will not adopt them to their own uſe.

Mr. D'Anville:—Beſides that it has been remarked, that the Indians, having never quitted their own country, have never mixed themſelves with other people, we do not find that they have ſuffered at home any revolutions which have overſet the conſtitution and cuſtom of the country. The Scythians have formerly penetrated into India, and eſtabliſhed themſelves there; from thence it comes to paſs, that we find Indo Scythia in the ancient Indoſtan. Several Mahomedan princes, and amongſt others, Mahmud ſon of Sebah-takin, very zealous for Muſſulmaniſm, have made conqueſts in India; and India has been governed for two centuries by a houſe whoſe origin is from Tartary, and whoſe religion is that of Mahomet. But theſe circumſtances, which have unnaturalized, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, other nations, have not had the ſame effect upon the Indians; they have preſerved, beſides ſeveral idioms which are proper to them, their religion and its miniſters, Brachmans and Gymnoſophiſts; their diviſion into caſts and tribes; diſtinguiſhed every one by its profeſſion, its rites and ſuperſtitions: in a word, all that is particular to themſelves, and diſtinguiſhes them from other nations, ſince the earlieſt times. Depuis les temps les plus reculés.

Beſides the particular denominations which they receive from the caſts and countries in which they are born, there is one more general, which is applied indiſcriminately, to diſtinguiſh the original natives from all who have intruded themſelves amongſt them. Hendoo, from whence Indian, and throughout the millions of Indians which inhabit Indoſtan, although ſituated at ſuch diſtances as would ſuffice to form them into ſeveral diſtinct nations, are viſible the ſtrongeſt marks of one general character, in their diſpoſitions, in their obſervances, and in their form.

The colour of the Indians is generally either that of copper or of the olive, but both with various ſhades. It is not abſolutely the proximity of the inhabitant to the equator, that determines his complexion in India; other phyſical cauſes, from differences which ariſe as by ſtarts in regions equally diſtant from the ſun, and it is in their complexion that leſs national generality is found, than in any other of the properties of their figure: ſome are almoſt black; but theſe are either inhabitants of the woods, or people inured to labour and fatigues uncommon to the reſt of their countrymen.

The hair of the Indians is without exception long, fine, and of a jet black. The noſe, if not always aquiline, is never buried in the face, nor with large diſtorted noſtrils, as in the Coffrees of Africa, and in the Malay nations. Their lips, though in general larger than in Europeans, have nothing of that diſagreeable protuberancy projecting beyond the noſe,

which characteriſes the two people juſt mentioned. The eyebrows are full in the men, ſlender in the women, well-placed in both. The eyelid is of the fineſt form,—long, neither opening circularly, as in many of the inhabitants of France, nor ſcarce opening at all, as in the Chineſe. The iris is always black, but rarely with luſtre, excepting in their children, and in ſome of their women: nor is the white of the eye perfectly clear from a tinge of yellow; their countenance therefore receives little animation, but rather a certain air of languor, from this feature. From the noſtrils to the middle of the upper lip they have an indenture, ſtrongly marked by two ridges, ſeldom obſervable in the northern Europeans, but often in the Spaniard and Portugueſe; and from the middle of the under lip there is another ſuch indenture, which loſes itſelf a little above the chin: theſe lines, chiefly remarked in perſons of their habits, give an air of ſagacity to the men, and of delicacy to the phyſiognomy of the women. The outline of the face is various, oftener oval than of any other form, particularly in the women; and this variety of outline is another of the principal characters which diſtinguiſheth the Indian from the Tartar as well as Malay; whoſe faces are univerſally of the ſame ſhape; that is, as broad as they are long.

The climate of India is divided into two ſeaſons: from the month of October to March, the wind continually blows from the northern, and in the other months from the ſouthern points of the compaſs. Theſe ſeaſons, called by navigators monſoons,

ſoons, are ſuſpended twice in the year, for the ſpace of twenty or thirty days, whilſt one of the reigning winds is loſing, and the other acquiring ſtrength. The ſouthern winds, paſſing through regions inflamed by a perpendicular ſun, and accompanying its approach, diminiſh nothing of its influence; the ſeaſon of their duration is therefore very hot indeed. The northern winds, after having ſcoured the vaſt plains of Tartary, receive additional keenneſs in their paſſage over the ſummits of mount Caucaſus, covered with eternal ſnows: they bring intenſe cold into the countries which lay at the foot of theſe mountains; but do not carry more than a very moderate degree of it beyond the 30th degree of latitude; for as during the whole time of their continuance the air is pure and unclouded, the ſun has always heat at noon; and ſo much in the ſouthern parts of India as to give Europeans very little, if any ſenſe of cold, not more than that of the month of June in England.

The texture of the human frame in India, ſeems to bear proportion with the rigidity of the northern monſoon, as that does with the diſtance from Tartary; but as in the ſouthern monſoon heats are felt at the very foot of mount Caucaſus, intenſe as in any part of India, very few of the inhabitants of Indoſtan are endowed with the nervous ſtrength, or athletic ſize, of the robuſteſt nations of Europe.

On the contrary, ſouthward of Lahore we ſee throughout India a race of men, whoſe make, phyſiognomy, and muſcular ſtrength, convey ideas of an effeminacy which ſurprizes

when

when purſued through ſuch numbers of the ſpecies, and when compared to the form of the European who is making the obſervation. The ſailor no ſooner lands on the coaſt, than nature dictates to him the full reſult of this compariſon; he brandiſhes his ſtick in ſport, and puts fifty Indians to flight in a moment: confirmed in his contempt of a puſillanimity and an incapacity of reſiſtance, ſuggeſted to him by their phyſiognomy and form, it is well if he recollects that the poor Indian is ſtill a man.

The muſcular ſtrength of the Indian is ſtill leſs than might be expected from the appearance of the texture of his frame. Two Engliſh ſawyers have performed in one day the work of thirty-two Indians: allowances made for the difference of dexterity, and the advantage of European inſtruments, the diſparity is ſtill very great; and would have been more, had the Indian been obliged to have worked with the inſtrument of the European, as he would ſcarcely have been able to have wielded it.

As much as the labourer in Indoſtan is deficient in the capacity of exerting a great deal of ſtrength at an onſet, ſo is he endowed with a certain ſuppleneſs throughout all his frame, which enables him to work long in his own degree of labour; and which renders thoſe contortions and poſtures, which would cramp the inhabitant of northern regions, no conſtraint to him. There are not more extraordinary tumblers in the world. Their meſſengers will go fifty miles a day,

day, for twenty or thirty days without intermiſſion. Their infantry march ſafter, and with leſs wearineſs, than Europeans; but could not march at all, if they were to carry the ſame baggage and accoutrements.

Exceptions to this general defect of nervous ſtrength, are found in the inhabitants of the mountains which run in ranges of various directions throughout the continent of Indoſtan. In theſe, even under the tropic, Europeans have met with a ſavage whoſe bow they could ſcarcely draw to the head of a formidable arrow, tinged with the blood of tigers whoſe ſkins he offers to ſale. Exceptions to the general placid countenance of the Indians, are found in the inhabitants of the woods, who, living chiefly on their chace, and perpetually alarmed by ſummons and attacks from the princes of the plains, for tributes withheld, or ravages committed, wear an air of diſmay, ſuſpicion, treachery, and wildneſs, which renders them hideous; and would render them terrible, if their phyſiognomy carried in it any thing of the fierceneſs of the mountaineer.

The ſtature of the Indian is various: the northern inhabitant is as tall as the generality of our own nation: more to the ſouth their height diminiſhes remarkably; and on the coaſt of Coromandel we meet with many whoſe ſtature would appear dwarfiſh, if this idea was not taken off by the ſlimneſs and regularity of their figure. Brought into the world with a facility unknown to the labours of European women; never

never ſhackled in their infancy by ligatures; ſleeping on their backs without pillows; they are in general very ſtraight; and there are few deformed perſons amongſt them.

Labour produces not the ſame effect on the human frame in Indoſtan as in other countries: the common people of all ſorts are a diminutive race, in compariſon with thoſe of higher caſts and better fortunes; and yield ſtill more to them in all the advantages of phyſiognomy. Prohibited from marrying out of their reſpective tribes, every caſt ſeems to preſerve its reſpective proportion of health and beauty, in ſanity and uglineſs. There is not a handſomer race in the univerſe, than the Banians of Guzerat: the Haramcores, whoſe buſineſs is to remove all kinds of filth; and the buryers and burners of dead bodies; are as remarkably ugly.

Nature ſeems to have ſhowered beauty on the fairer ſex throughout Indoſtan, with a more laviſh hand than in moſt other countries. They are all, without exception, fit to be married before thirteen, and wrinkled before thirty—flowers of too ſhort a duration not to be delicate; and too delicate to laſt long. Segregated from the company of the other ſex, and ſtrangers to the ideas of attracting attention, they are only the handſomer for this ignorance; as we ſee in them, beauty in the noble ſimplicity of nature. Hints have already been given of their phyſiognomy: their ſkins are of a poliſh and ſoftneſs beyond that of all their rivals on the globe: a ſtatuary would not ſucceed better in Greece itſelf, in his purſuit of the Grecian form; and although in the men he

would find nothing to furniſh the ideas of the Farneſian Hercules, he would find in the women the fineſt hints of the Medicean Venus.

If we conſider the impoſſibilty of a ſtranger being admitted into any one caſt, to which a Bramin will adminiſter any of his ſacerdotal functions, and the univerſal reſtriction of marriage to perſons of the ſame caſt; we ſhall not be ſurprized to find that the Indian has preſerved his phyſiognomy from a reſemblance with any of his neighbours.

Monteſquieu attributes much to the effect of climate; and his critics impute to him, to have attributed much more to this effect than he really does. It is certain, that there is no climate in which we may not find the ſame effects produced in the human ſpecies, as in climates entirely different in ſituation, and in every other circumſtance. The Sybarites, whoſe territory was not more than a day's journey from the country of the Horatii, the Cincinnati, and the Scipios, were more effeminate than the ſubjects of Sardanapalus; and there are Sybarites at this day in the country of Vercingetorix. The Britons, although they poſſeſs at this day all the courage of their painted anceſtors, who beat the greateſt general of the world out of their country, are doubtleſs incapable of bearing like them the fatigues and hardſhips of a campaign.

But it would be to contradict all our feelings, not to allow that it is much more difficult to bring the human race to particular habits in ſome countries than in others. To make a Sybarite of an inhabitant of the 50th degree of latitude, infinite

infinite inventions muſt have been carried to the greateſt degree of perfection: apartments muſt be cloſed and fuelled ſo asto render the alterations of ſeaſons little ſenſible to him: he muſt be carried in vehicles contrived to be as warm as the apartments he leaves, and almoſt as eaſy as the chair in which he ſlumbers: his food muſt be every thing that is not ſimple.

To produce the ſame effect in ſuch a climate and ſuch a country as Indoſtan, nothing is neceſſary but to give the man his daily food. The effect of the ſun on the perſpiration of the human body, together with the ſoftneſs of the air, renders this ſecretion in India more powerful than the effect of labour in other countries. The awkward conſtraint ariſing from reſt in northern climates, is the call of nature to throw off ſomething obnoxious to the habit, or to quicken the circulation into warmth. Senſible of neither of theſe impulſes, and ſatisfied with the preſent ſenſe of eaſe, the inhabitant of Indoſtan has no conception of any thing ſalutary in the uſe of exerciſe; and receiving no agreeable ſenſation from it, eſteems it, in thoſe not obliged to it by neceſſity, ridiculous, or the effect of a diſcontented ſpirit.

This general tendency to indolence being admitted, we ſhall find nature encouraging them in it.

The ſavage, by his chace, and the perpetual war in which he lives with the elements, is enabled to devour almoſt raw the fleſh of the animals he has killed. In more civilized nations, the plowman from his labour is enabled to digeſt in its

coarſeſt prpearations the wheat hehasſown. Either of theſe foods would deſtroy the common inhabitant of Indoſtan, as he exiſts at preſent: his food is rice.

To provide this grain, we ſee a man of no muſcular ſtrength carrying a plough on his ſhoulder to the field, which the ſeaſon or reſervoirs of water have overflown. This ſlender inſtrument of his agriculture, yoked to a pair of diminutive and feeble oxen, is traced, with ſcarce the impreſſion of a furrow, over the ground, which is afterwards ſown. The remaining labour conſiſts in ſupplying the field with water; which is generally effected by no greater a toil than undamming the canals, which derive from the great reſervoir. If in ſome places this water is drawn from wells, in moſt parts of India it is ſupplied by rain; as the rice in thoſe parts, when the rainy ſeaſon is of two or three months duration, is always ſown juſt before this ſeaſon begins. When reaped, the women ſeparate the grain from the huſk in wooden mortars, or it is trampled by oxen. Inſtead of hedges, the field is incloſed with a ſlender bank of earth.

A grain obtained with ſo little labour, has the property of being the moſt eaſily digeſtible of any preparation uſed for food, and is therefore the only proper one for ſuch an effeminate race as I have deſcribed. There is wheat in India; it is produced only in the ſharper regions, where rice will not ſo eaſily grow, and where the cultivator acquires a firmer fibre than the inhabitant of the plain. It was probably introduced with the Alcoran, as all the Mahomedans of northern extraction

traction prefer it to rice, as much as an Indian rejects a nouriſhment which he cannot well digeſt even in its fineſt preparation.

Water is the only drink of every Indian reſpectable enough to be admitted into their aſſemblies of public worſhip, as all inebriating liquors are forbore through a principle of religion; not that the ſoil is wanting in productions proper to compoſe the moſt intoxicating, nor themſelves in the art of preparing them for the outcaſts of their own nation, or others of perſuaſions different from their own, who chuſe to get drunk. They have not equally been able to refrain from the uſe of ſpices, and theſe the hotteſt, without which they never make a meal. Ginger is produced in their gardens as eaſily as radiſhes are in ours; and chilli, the higheſt of all vegetable productions uſed for food, inſomuch that it will bliſter the ſkin, grows ſpontaneouſly: theſe, with turmeric, are the principal ingredients of their cookery, and by their plenty are always within the reach of the pooreſt. A total abſtinence from animal food is not ſo generally obſerved amongſt them as is imagined; even the Bramins will eat fiſh; but as they never prepare either fiſh or fleſh without mixing them with much greater quantities of ſpices than Europeans ſuffer in their ragouts, animal food never makes more than the ſlighteſt portion of their meal; and the preference of vegetables, of which they have various kinds in plenty, is deciſively marked amongſt them all. The cow is ſacred every where: milk, from a ſuppoſed reſemblance with the amortam or nectar of

their

their gods, is religiouſly eſteemed the pureſt of foods, and receives the preference to vegetables in their nouriſhment.

If the rice harveſts ſhould fail, which ſometimes happens in ſome parts of India, there are many other reſources to prevent the inhabitant from periſhing: there are grains of a coarſer kind and larger volume than rice, which require not the ſame continuation of heat, and at the ſame time the ſame ſupplies of water, to be brought to perfection: there are roots, ſuch as the Indian potatoe, raddiſh, and others of the turnip kind, which without manure acquire a larger ſize than the ſame ſpecies of vegetable in Europe, when aſſiſted with all the arts of agriculture, although much inferior to thoſe of Peru, of which Garcilaſſa della Vega gives ſo aſtoniſhing a deſcription: there are ground fruits of the pumpkin and melon kind, which come to maturity with the ſame facility, and of which a ſingle one is ſufficient to furniſh a meal for three perſons, who receive ſufficient nouriſhment from this ſlender diet. The fruit-trees of other countries furniſh delicacies to the inhabitant, and ſcarcely any thing more; in India there are many which furniſh at once a delicacy and no contemptible nouriſhment: the palm and the coco trees give in their large nuts a gelatinous ſubſtance, on which men, when forced to the experience by neceſſity, have ſubſiſted for fifty days: the jack-tree produces a rich, glewy, and nutritive fruit: the papa and the plantain-tree grow to perfection, and give their fruit within the year: the plantain, in ſome of its kinds, ſupplies the place of bread, and in all is of excellent nouriſhment.

Theſe

Theſe are not all the preſents which the luxuriant hand of nature gives as food to the inhabitant of India; but as the natural hiſtory of this country is reſerved for more diligent and able enquirers, this imperfect enumeration is ſufficient to prove that the Indian, incapable as he is of hard labour, can rarely run the riſk of being famiſhed; and that from the plenty which ſurrounds him, he is confirmed in the debility in which we now ſee his frame.

Nature has made them ſtill other preſents, which ſupply many other of their wants, without exacting from them the exertion of much labour. The bamboo, which grows every where, requires only one ſtroke of the hatchet to ſplit it from one end to the other, and to divide it into laths of all lengths and of the ſmalleſt ſizes, at the ſame time that intire, it is large and ſtrong enough to ſerve as the ſupport of ſuch houſes as the climate demands; for in the greateſt part of Indoſtan the bare earth affords a repoſe without the danger of diſeaſes to ſo temperate a people. The palm and the coco-nut tree give their large fan leaves, which naturally ſeparate into ſeveral long diviſions, with which a mat may be made in a few minutes: a number of theſe mats laid over the ſcaffolding, erected with no other materials than the bamboo and packthread, compoſe in a day a houſe, in which the Indian may live for ſix months, in thoſe parts of Indoſtan which are not ſubject to much rain. If a better houſe is required, walls of mud are carried up to the height of ſix or ſeven feet, and rendered in a few days extremely hard by the intenſe heat of

the

the ſun: theſe are covered with thatch made of ruſhes or the ſtraw of rice; and many perſons of good caſts, and far from diſtreſs in their fortunes, even Bramins, are ſatisfied with ſuch a habitation. There are bricks, and very good ones, in India; but a brick houſe is a certain mark that the inhabitant is extravagant or rich.

The ſun forbids the uſe of fuel in any part of the year, as neceſſary to procure warmth; and what is neceſſary to dreſs their victuals, is chiefly ſupplied by the dung of their cows.

The want of raiment is ſcarce an inconvenience; and the moſt wealthy remain by choice almoſt naked, when in their own families and free from the intercourſe of ſtrangers; ſo that all the manufactures of cloth, for which India is ſo famous, derive more from the decency of their character; the luxurious taſte of a rich and enervated people; and from the ſpirit of commerce which has prevailed among them from time immemorial; than from wants really felt; and if the manufacture of a piece of cloth was not the leaſt laborious taſk in which a man can be employed in India, it is probable that the whole nation would at this day be as naked as their Gymnoſophiſts, of which the ancients ſay ſo much and knew ſo little.* Breathing in the ſofteſt of climates; having ſo few real wants; and receiving even the luxuries of other nations with little labour, from the fertility of their own ſoil; the Indian muſt become the moſt effeminate inhabitant of the globe; and this is the very point at which we now ſee him.

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